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PIDGINS & CREOLES AS LANGUAGES OF WIDER COMMUNICATION

K. P. ACHARYA • REKHA SHARMA
SAM MOHAN LAL • K. S. RAJYASHREE

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MYSORE - 570 006

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7

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M. V. SREEDHAR

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FOREWORD

Contrary to the western view prevailing for a long time that all pidgins and creoles are European language based, there are three pidgins/creoles in India which are entirely Indian language based. The Assamese based pidgin is variously known as Nagamese, Naga Pidgin, Arunachalese; the Oriya based pidgin is known as Desia in the Andhra-Orissa border and Halbi in the Orissa-Madhya Pradesh border; and the Hindi based pidgin is called Sadari, Sadni or Lariya. These are regional lingua francae used by large number of tribes as medium of communication among tribals and non-tribals of the region. All these assume some characteristics of the languages they come in contact with. For example, there is a variety of Halbi which is close to Marathi as one close to Oriya, the same way Nagamese has different manifestations.

There are two interesting features about them which throw light on language and politics of the regions concerned and language attitudes developed towards one another among majority and minority languages. Orissa became a separate state as late as 1936. Because of the lack of strong political leadership in the state and presence of stronger political leadership in the neighbouring states, large chunks of Oriya speaking tracts were included in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. The Oriya dialects spoken in the border regions could neither identify themselves with the development of Oriya nor could they be considered fit to participate in the development of the regional languages into which they were incorporated. Nagamese in one form or another is the lingua franca in the whole of the north-eastern region. However, not being developed by the Assamese and considered an outsider by various tribal language speakers in the region, it suffered negligence. The same is true of Sadari. There is no wonder that speakers of these pidgins/creoles developed a sense of inferiority complex about their own language and adopted respectful attitude towards various standards in their region. Although the dominant language speakers neglected them they found it inescapable from the point of establishing communication with the many tribal and minor language speakers who used it for day-to-day communication.

The political ownership of land and people and the cultural negligence of the incorporated areas by the majority has resulted in a number of language movements in the country. And yet the majority speakers have not assumed responsibility for developing a strategy for the educational use of the home languages as a mechanism of transfer to the dominant regional languages. It is only recently that Sadari has entered into the curriculum of primary education in West Bengal and university in Bihar.

It is not always that a single language of wider communication is essential for communication among groups who consider themselves distinct. As the studies show, passive control of each other's language can result in perfect communication.

Hindi, like English and Chinese, represents a single label, but a heterogeneous communication field. It is not that there are different varieties of Hindi in different linguistic regions of the country, but even within a metropolis like Bombay there are different varieties of Hindi. Linguists have attempted to distinguish between pidgin and pidginised language to account for situations like Bombay-Hindi. Whatever label one may give, the fact remains that the range of Hindi is wide enough to receive acceptance not only of people of different ancestries, but of different linguistic traditions.

If these studies stimulate further research in the sociolinguistics aspects of language dynamics, then our efforts would have been rewarded. I congratulate all those associated with this work.

D. P. Pattanayak
Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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K. P. Acharya
Rekha Sharma
Sam Mohan Lal
K. S. Rajyashree

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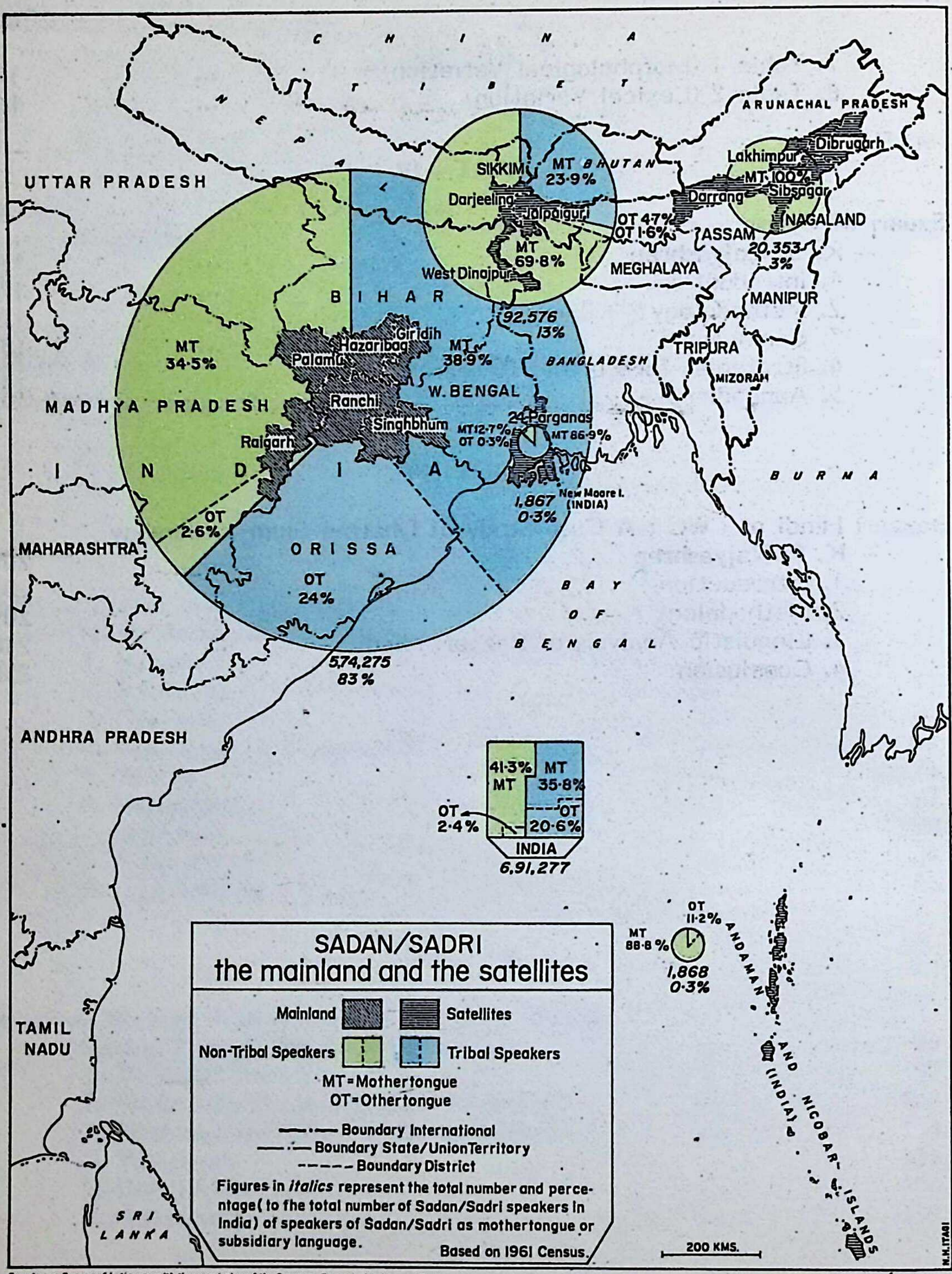
C H I N A
T I B E T
N E P A L
UTTAR PRADESH
SIKKIM
MT 23·9%
BHUTAN
Darjeeling
Jalpaiguri
OT 4·7%
OT 1·6%
MT 69·8%
West Dinajpur
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Dibrugarh
Lakhimpur
MT 100%
Sibsagar
Darrang
ASSAM
NAGALAND
20,353
3%
MEGHALAYA
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
MIZORAM
BANGLADESH
BURMA
92,576
13%
BIHAR
Giridih
Hazaribag
Palamau
MT 38·9%
MT 34·5%
W. BENGAL
MADHYA PRADESH
Ranchi
Singhbhum
24 Parganas
MT 12·7%
OT 0·3%
MT 86·9%
Raigarh
I N D I A
OT 2·6%
MAHARASHTRA
New Moore I. (INDIA)
1,867
0·3%
ORISSA
OT 24%
BAY OF BENGAL
5,74,275
83%
ANDHRA PRADESH
41·3% MT
MT 35·8%
OT 2·4%
OT 20·6%
INDIA
6,91,277
OT 11·2%
MT 88·8%
1,868
0·3%
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
TAMIL NADU
SRI LANKA
Mainland ▨
Satellites ▤
Non-Tribal Speakers 🟩
Tribal Speakers 🟦
MT=Mothertongue
OT=Othertongue
Boundary International
Boundary State/UnionTerritory
Boundary District
200 KMS.
N.H.ITAGI

SADAN/SADRI
the mainland and the satellites

Figures in *italics* represent the total number and percentage (to the total number of Sadan/Sadri speakers in India) of speakers of Sadan/Sadri as mothertongue or subsidiary language.

Based on 1961 Census.

Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line

The boundary of Meghalaya shown on this map is as interpreted from the North-East Areas' Reorganization Act 1971 but has yet to be verified.

Responsibility for the correctness of internal details rests with the publishers.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The contents of this volume have reports of four studies conducted by the staff of the sociolinguistic unit of the Central Institute of Indian Languages. Though the studies pertain to different languages spread over widely unconnected geographical areas and were conducted by different scholars over a period of two years, they are put together at a single place primarily because all of them have a common feature, viz., the use of each language as the language of wider communication (LWC) in the area concerned. That is, in each of the areas, a particular language functions as the regional lingua franca. The three languages involved in this study are incidentally pidgins/creoles. Since pidgins/creoles are usually not given the status or designation of languages of wider communication (Ls.W.C.) we might at this juncture ponder over the term LWC itself.

The previous references to Ls.W.C. by different scholars primarily concern to a single aspect of the language, viz., the functional value, that too within a restricted range. The criterion for determining the functional value is the non-linguistic factor of instrumental purpose, i.e., to what extent the use of a particular language would enable its users to obtain the highest degree of benefits in occupational field and in other walks of life like: economical, political, socio-cultural fields, etc. The utility of a LWC for the instrumental purpose has been rated so high that by implication, only the official language of a multilingual country is considered as the LWC, cf. for instance: Fishman (1969 : 115), Fishman, et al. (1977 : 331), Apte (1970 : 67), etc.

Fishman (1969 : 118) states that 'in type B any wide LWC tends to be allocated only transitional goals in connection with operational efficiency consideration. There may well be an immediate need for a LWC of modern higher education but ultimately this is rationalized on the grounds of pure expediency. Inevitably there is a tendency to ideolize a future time when the nation will be strong enough and adequately self sufficient so that any LWC that may currently be needed will no longer have a national role to fulfil and will become a mere foreign language'. Though Fishman and the other scholars do not spell out that only literary languages of international repute can be assigned the role of the LWC, by implication they rule out the possibility of having a number of Ls.W.C. in different regions of a multilingual country like India. It also appears that non-literary languages used for inter-lingual communication for just oral communication are completely ruled out from being considered as LWC. As mentioned earlier, only by implication, we can attribute to the western scholars the denial of the status of LWC to non-literary spoken languages for inter-lingual communication. Apte (1970 : 67) equates 'link language' with LWC. It might be for that reason that though English is the mothertongue (MT) of only 2,23,781 persons (1961 Census) in India, English is treated by most scholars as the LWC of India. English certainly is a second language for about 20 million people who form the elite in India and for the present, it is the language for climbing up the upper ladders though this situation may not last long, particularly because many linguistically based states have adopted within the states concerned the dominant language of the state as the sole official language at all levels. It might take some time before the repercussions of such a policy is felt on the other languages particularly on English in such states. As far as this work is concerned, a LWC would include the regional lingua franca whether literary or not, used for interlingual communication amongst different linguistic groups in a multilingual area. Thus within a state or country one could have two or more Ls.W.C. Therefore, Halbi, Sadari and Bazaari Hindi reported in this volume are Ls.W.C. in the regions where they are spoken. Incidentally, all the three Ls.W.C. included in this volume are not only non-literary languages but are also pidgin/creoles. Our definition of a LWC comes very close to the views of Cooper and Seckbech (1977 : 264) who claimed that 'regional language francae often spread along trade routes and radiate from market centers carried by traders who need a common language in order to do business'. The role of the businessmen in the spread of a regional lingua franca is true at least in the case of Naga Pidgin (Sreedhar, 1974). For instance, though the exact origin of Naga Pidgin is not known, it was the Marwari businessmen who were primarily responsible for the spread of Naga Pidgin to every nook and corner of Nagaland. Cooper and Seckbech, however, seem to set apart the role of a LWC to a foreign literary language when they claimed that 'such languages (LWC) enable a community whose primary languages are not widely spoken outside the community to communicate with the foreigners and gain excess to literatures in sciences'. Here they seem to make a distinction between a regional lingua franca and a LWC. At that point, they could also be clubbed with Fishman and the other scholars. Having clarified the concept of Ls.W.C. as applicable to this volume, another feature common to all the languages in this volume may also be considered. In a sense, the reports of all the languages included in this volume pertain to inter-lingual communication (ILC) in multilingual set ups. One of the reports deals with a slum in Bombay while the other three deal with the interlingual communication in predominantly tribal belts of Madhya Pradesh (MP), Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. While the report on Orissa shows that most of the tribes use Oriya, the official language of the state, albeit with some variation for ILC, in the other states pidgin like languages rather than the official languages of the states concerned are used for ILC. May be at this stage, we might have a look at the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in these areas for determining the use or non-use of the official languages for ILC, including the pre-conditions for the birth and spread of pidgins as Ls.W.C. where official languages are not used for ILC. In the Bastar district of M.P. it is seen that the tribal population belonging to different ethnic/linguistic groups have a close socio-cultural association. It is also seen that even though one ethnic/linguistic group does not interdine or take food in the house of another ethnic/linguistic group in the same village, each ethnic/linguistic group in multilingual villages has certain obligations to help the other groups in the multilingual villages. Thus the tribal population belonging to different ethnic/linguistic groups have close contacts amongst themselves as well as with the non-tribal population in the Bastar district. In all such interlingual contact situations Halbi, a Pidgin like language is used for ILC, while Hindi is the official language of the areas. The non-tribals in the Bastar district consider that they must know Halbi for their effective functioning in the district. The non-tribals show this favourable attitude towards Halbi, despite the fact that most of the tribals know Hindi, the official language of the state, as a second language. The non-tribal population in the area, however, speak Chattisgarhi, a non-standard variety of Hindi. Halbi is the first language (MT) for persons 3,40,460 (1971 Census) belonging to different ethnic groups like: Gond, Halba, Muriya, Dhruwa, Madiya, etc., and is a second language for 1,10,647 (1961 Census) persons belong to 23 ethnic groups. A comparable situation is found in Raigarh district of M.P., parts of Bihar and West Bengal where both the tribes and the non-tribes, particularly the ones in the lower rungs of the societal hierarchy amongst the Hindu society, use Sadari, a Pidgin/Creole for ILC. In these states, particularly in Bihar, there was/is a close contact amongst the tribes belonging to different ethnic groups. Linguistically, the tribes in Bihar belong to three different families of languages, viz., Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric families. Therefore, Sadari a pidgin developed amongst them for ILC. Sadari, however, took deep roots amongst them only a decade ago, when there was a strong movement for the creation of a separate tribal state named 'Jharkhand' by carving out the predominant tribal belts from M.P., Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. The entire area sought to be included in the Jharkhand state consists almost exclusively of hill tracts and form a contiguous region, though politically divided at present into four states. The tribes in Orissa, however, were a bit lukewarm to this movement. This was evident from the results of the elections to the state legislative assemblies. While in Bihar, 100 per cent candidates set up by the movement were elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly, none of their candidates set up by the movement got elected to the Orissa Legislative Assembly. Since the tribes in Bihar and M.P. belong to three different families of languages, Sadari, a Pidgin/Creole become the rallying point and an identity token for different ethnic/linguistic groups. It was also announced then that if and when Jharkhand state was formed, Sadari would be the official language of the state. This strong positive attitude towards Sadari was evident in the Census returns for Sadari in 1951 and 1961. The Census figures for Sadari as MT in 1951 and 1961 were respectively 58 and 3,65,772. The 1961 Census returns show as many as 1,37,794 persons speaking Sadari as a second language in Bihar and M.P. Of these, Bihar alone had 1,13,659 persons speaking Sadari as a second language. Thus owing to the high density of communication between the tribes and the non-tribes on the one hand and amongst the tribes belonging to different ethnic/linguistic groups on the other hand, Sadari which had just 58 MT speakers in 1951 rose to more than .36 million MT speakers in just a decade. Thus socio-political situations including the high density of communication enabled the growth and spread of a pidgin like Sadari. As opposed to this situation of close sociocultural contact amongst the tribes in Bastar district of M.P. and in Bihar, one finds an entirely different situation in Orissa.

Even though the tribal population in Orissa also live in contiguous areas, each ethnic/linguistic group has a self contained separate locality. There is a hardly any interlingual contact between two or more ethnic/linguistic groups amongst the tribes in Orissa. The only interlingual contact they ordinarily have is with the Oriya speaking non-tribes, with the result most of the tribes who are bilinguals in Orissa are bilinguals in their respective MTs and Oriya, albeit with some variations. Owing to the total lack of interlingual contact amongst the tribes belonging to different ethnic/linguistic groups, there was neither a need nor any scope for the birth or development of any pidgin as a regional lingua franca in Orissa. Even though a few tribes particularly the Oraons who had earlier migrated to Orissa from M.P. and Bihar spoke Sadari as their MT, they too had very little interlingual contact with the other tribes in Orissa. Therefore, Sadari did not spread even as a second language amongst the other tribes in Orissa.

In terms of language contact situation, a near parallel to that of Orissa is found in the Dharavi slum of Bombay. The slum having a population of 3,50,000 has distinct localities for different linguistic groups. There is such an overwhelming majority for each linguistic groups in their respective localities that each major group could survice in their localities as unilinguals. And the linguistic minorities in each locality, if any, are obliged to learn the language of the majority for ILC. This is true, even in the cases where the majority speak Tamil, a Dravidian language. For instance, though Marathi is the official language of the Maharashtra state, Maharashtrians in the exclusive Tamil localities are obliged to learn Tamil for ILC within the Tamil locality. Thus in Dharavi slum there are as many dominant language areas as there are distinct linguistic group localities. A situation of this nature was made possible because in the early days, different immigrant linguistic groups who came in search of economic gains got settled down in different localities. Once an immigrant gets settled in a locality, he is followed in the first instance by his kinsmen, then by his neighbours, each individual in his/her turn following this pattern ultimately ending up

...

in the entire village turning up in a particular locality. Hence one finds a strong linguistic bond in each of the localities, particularly of Tamil localities. This pattern of migration is reflected in the utterances of the slum dwellers themselves, for instance:

> apna gaw walonko apna phrendwaleko bulayega sathme le jayega!
> . . . will invite his villagers and friends (and) take with him.

Thus, linguistically we find a close parallel between the situation in the tribal belts of Orissa and the different localities in the Dharavi slum, as far as the interlingual contact situation within their living area is concerned. There, however, is a major point of departure between the two in that while the tribal belts in Orissa have a self contained economy, the slum dwellers are economically depended upon the communities outside the slum. While some of the slum dwellers are employed in small factories, and the other organizations as labourers, many are involved in the underworld activities like: boot legging, pick pocketting, smuggling, etc. For meeting the demands of ILC in these activities, the slum dwellers acquired the LWC of Bombay, which is Bazaari Hindi (BH), a pidgin based on Hindi/Urdu. Therefore the slum dwellers who have to move outside the slums for economic gains are bilinguals at least in BH and their respective ancestral languages, even though within their respective localities in the slum they manage to remain unilinguals using only their respective MTs. No loss of ancestral languages has been reported in this slum. BH, however, is used within the slum for ILC in certain domains even when none of the interlocutors or participants are Hindi speakers. These domains are: play grounds, gambling dens, boot-legging centers, etc., within the slum. BH is the only language in these domains.

The language contact situations in all the four studies may now be summarized. Linguistic situationwise, though all the areas under study have multilingual characteristics, in reality Orissa has a bilingual contact situation between the individual tribal languages on the one hand and the official language of the State, viz., Oriya, on the other hand, whereas in the tribal belts of M.P., Bihar, there is a two-way interlingual contact situation, viz., between the different tribal languages and a number of the non-tribal languages like: Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Hindi, etc., on the one hand and amongst the different tribal languages on the other. A near parallel situation is found in the Bastar district of M.P. The language contact situation within the Dharavi slum is different from that of Bihar and Bastar district of M.P. and close to that of Orissa, but their day-to-day interlingual contact situations for the economic gains outside the slum are much more intense than that of Bihar and M.P. Therefore we have one pidgin or the other in these three situations as opposed to the situation in Orissa. This difference in the language contact situation clearly validates the basic hypothesis for the condition for the birth and spread of pidgins, viz., a one to many ratio rather than a one to one ratio is required for the birth of a pidgin. Since the parts of Orissa under study[1] has a language contact situation of one to one ratio there was no scope either for the birth of a pidgin or the acquisition of an existing pidgin and its use, as is found in the Dharavi slum.

The languages included in this monograph were designated as pidgin creoles. These languages, however, do not conform to the definitions laid down for the claim of pidgins. For instance, the classical pidgin situation involves two socially segregated communities, where the segregation is based on a perceived ethnic differences and arises out of conquest leading to a master slave relation between the communities involved. Secondly, the source of the classical pidgin invariably goes back to a single superstrata language. A pidgin is said to be a simplified version of the superstrata language. These two major features of classical pidgins do not seem to apply in the case of the languages included in this monograph. Even though we do not have the evidence regarding the origin of these languages the chances of these pidgin/ creoles arising out of master-slave relations are very little. In this let us take the instance of the Bazaari Hindi. It is spoken albeit with slight variation in most of the urban centers outside the Hindi belt. For the non-elite groups in the cities like: Bombay, Calcutta, etc., it is the only regional lingua franca available for ILC. The report of the study on Dharavi slum shows that even the rural Maharashtrians living in the slum feel the need of learning and using the Bazaari Hindi even though Marathi is the official language of the state. It is known from the history that Hindi speakers had never conquered the territories like: Calcutta, Bombay, etc., rather it was the Maratha rulers of Poona who had captured the territories in the heartland of the Hindi belt and set up their kingdoms like: Holkar in Indore, Scindia in Gwalior, Dewas, etc. Dalton (1868) mentions about the Maratha conquest of certain parts of the present Bihar. Thus we find that Bazaari Hindi is spoken in a number of urban centers outside the Hindi belt despite the fact that the rulers from the Hindi belts had never conquered these urban centers. Alternatively it could be claimed that Bazaari Hindi is the successor to 'Urdu' 'the camp language' which the soldiers of the Muslim rulers of Delhi carried to the different parts of the country including the present Bangladesh and Pakistan. There could be some substance in such a claim in view of the close resemblance in structure between the Dakhini Urdu and Bazaari Hindi and also because of the known fact that it was the chieftans of the Muslim rulers of Delhi who brought Urdu below the Vindhya Hills. This Urdu was later known as Dakhini Urdu which developed independent under the Bahamani rulers in the early fourteenth century and under the patronage of Adil Shahi of Bijapur and of Kutub Shahi of Golkunda from the late fifteenth century to early seventeenth century. It is today the first language of a large number of Muslims of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.. It is also spoken as the first language in parts of Maharashtra. It is already a well known fact that once a pidgin is born in any area, it would facilitate its birth and/or spread in the other areas of the region. Therefore if one accepts this hypothesis, i.e., Bazaari Hindi is a successor to the Dakhini Urdu, the spread of Dakhini Urdu in different urban centers under the nomenclature of Bazaari Hindi can easily be accounted for. The main difficulties in accepting such an hypothesis is that at no stage Dakhini Urdu was a pidgin and further that the Dakhini Urdu speakers who might have migrated to places like Bombay for trade or employment could not have made the local people concerned to accept their language in totality even for the limited function of ILC. We are therefore left with the only choice of distinguishing the Dakhini Urdu from Bazaari Hindi, despite the structural similarities by considering Bazaari Hindi as a pidginized variety of Hindi and Dakhini Urdu as a fossilized form of early Urdu/Hindi. The natural growth of Dakhini Urdu get stunted owing to its total separation from the maintenance of Hindi/Urdu culture and environment particularly after the Bahamani Kingdom declared independence from the Muslim rulers of Delhi. Thus Bazaari Hindi cannot claim to be a successor to the 'camp language'.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, one is left with the only assumption that Bazaari Hindi was developed some time during the British period. The British Indian Army used Hindi in Roman script. It was then known as Roman Urdu. It is those army officials who consisted of men from all over India, who might have carried Hindi to the different parts of India. For instance, presently Bazaari Hindi is used by the local Nagas residing beside the army depots and camps in their dealings with the army men. This is true of the other states in the North Eastern India. Since the men and officers of the Indian Army come from the entire India, the casual relationship between the armymen and the local population cannot be brought under the master-slave relations. Thus Bazaari Hindi fails to conform to one of the chief tenets of Pidgin, viz., master-slave relation.

While hardly any information is available about the origin and early development of Sadari, some information about the contact of the Halbas with the Maratha rulers is available, i.e., the ancestors of the Halbas were the soldiers and officers in the Maratha army that over ran that territory and therefore the Halbas had a higher social status. Halbi is the first language to the entire Halbas in the Bastar district, while the Halbas of the Raigarh district of M.P. have given up Halbi. There is no information about the original language of the Halbas. Despite the heavy doze of lexical items and many grammatical features of Marathi found in Halbi, there is very little scope to predict the past history of Halbi. All that is possible to state at present is that Halbi has grammatical elements and lexical items from a few languages. And that its vocabulary and grammatical features cannot go back to any single language, nor Halbi is member of the Indo-Aryan family of languages as it does not show a one to one phonemic correspondence with the other Indo-Aryan languages.

There is yet another major area where the languages cited in this volume differ from the classical pidgins, i.e., while the source of all the classical pidgins could be traced to a single external-language, some of these languages particularly Sadari show multiple source. This could be illustrated with a few selected grammatical categories occurring in Sadari.

(i) Verb 'to be'

Despite certain variations found within the speech of the same individual and also in the speech of different ethnic groups spread over the entire area under investigation, one finds certain patterns in the use of the verb 'to be' in Sadari. These are stated below.

In the use of verb 'to be' Sadari makes a distinction between the equative sentences on the one hand and static possessive and locative sentences on the other hand.

(a) The equative sentences in Sadari have heke/hekey in the present singular and hole/hai/ahe in the present plural. The past forms available are: rahe/rahis/rahlak and the future forms are: hui/hotei/bani.

(b) The static possessive and locative sentences in Sadari have ahe, an exception being in 24 Paraganas where ahe/he/hai are found. The Sadari of Orissa has ay.

These items could be compared with the languages like: Marathi, Chattisgarhi and Bhojpuri (the latter two are considered as the dialects of Hindi). The standard Marathi has ahe/ahet occurring in all the three types of sentences listed above. The Kolhapur variety of Marathi has hai/have (sg.) and havet (pl.). The corresponding past and future tense forms are: hota and hoil in standard Marathi and vhata and Vahail in Kolhapur and Nagpur Marathi. rahe form is also found in Nagpur Marathi.

The present, past and future tense forms in Bhojpuri respectively are: haw, rahlan and hoi. Chattisgarhi forms are: hawau/hau, rahaw/rahan/rahisat and hibo (Singh, 1977 : 14-15).

If the occurrence of the verb 'to be' in Sadari is compared, one could find that by and large the forms for the static possessive and the locative sentences in the present tense are identical with that of the Marathi forms. The source for the future and the past tense cannot be stated definitely as Bhojpuri, Chattisgarhi and Nagpur Marathi forms show very close similarity. The forms of the equative sentence seem to be from Magahi, which is very close to Bengali in structure though classed under Hindi for the purpose of Census.

(ii) Past tense form

The past tense form is v + tense marker + gender, as in:

moy mor poise oke dedilo 'I gave my money to him'
(cf. Nagpur Marathi: devun dilo 'gave' lit. "having given gave").

The past tense marker l seems to be from Marathi, though the same marker is also found in Bengali, Chattisgarhi and Bhojpuri.

(iii) Imperative form: n/ṇ, as in:

mor khatir tanik piye:k pa:ni a:n 'bring some water for me to drink"

This n/ṇ form of the imperative is clearly a Marathi feature, as no other language in contact with Sadari has this form.

(iv) Number marker

The grammatical category of number is not correctly marked with the context indicates plurality, otherwise man marks the number. In the Raigarh variety of Sadari, nouns referring to inanimate and animate beings are marked respectively by kar/har and man. While kar is an Apabhramsha form, the source of man cannot be stated definitely as Chattisgarhi, Oriya and Bhojpuri mark the number with man.

(v) Numeral

(a) Basically Sadari shows two types of numerals, i.e., with and without the suffix ṭho, as in: ek/ekṭho 'one', dui/duiṭho 'two', tin/tinṭho 'three'. The numerals with ṭho are not found in Raigarh variety of Sadari. ṭho is one of the numeral classifiers originally found in the Austric languages which was since borrowed in the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages and in the Tibeto-Burman languages excepting the Naga languages in India. Since Sadari is in direct contact with the Austric languages, it is not possible whether this feature was borrowed directly from the Austric languages or via Bhojpuri.

(b) The numerals are counted in the multiples of twenty, as in: ek koṛi das 'thirty', dui koṛi 'forty', duy koṛi dui 'forty-two' etc. Some of the Tibeto-Burman languages and some of the languages in contact with Sadari have the numerals counted in the multiple of twenty. Thus, it is not possible to state the exact source of kori. In passing, these forms can also be compared with the corresponding forms in Halbi, Bhattri, Lariya and Panch-pargania[2].

1) The past and future tense forms of Halbi and Bhattri respectively are: rahe and hoy. The Lariya spoken in Orissa and M.P. has hai/hE for the present, rahis/rahe for the past and bani for the future.

a) Equative sentences:

The present tense ay occurs in HF and ay/hay in LF in both Halbi and Bhattri. heke (sg.) and hekai (pl.) occur for the present tense in Lariya and Panch-pargania.

(b) The static possessive and locative sentences:

Halbi and Bhattri have asot for the static possessive and asot alternating with ay/ase for the locative sentences. The Panch-pargania has hai for the static possessive and ahe for the locative.

2) The imperative form in Halbi and Bhattri are identical with that of Marathi.

3) Number marker:

Halbi, Bhattri and Lariya mark the plurality with man Panch-pargania has kar and gila respectively for nouns referring to inanimate and animate beings.

All the features mentioned above are nearly the same as the ones found to occur in Sadari. It is quite clear that none of these languages are genetically related as they fail to show a regular phonemic correspondence. At the same time they are not the results of Koine formation. The existing theories on Pidgins and Creoles fail to account for such multiple source for a pidgin. Please see Appendix-1 of the introduction for a comparative chart showing the forms of the copula found in: Sadari, Halbi, Panch-pargania, Lariya, Marathi, Chattisgarhi and Bhojpuri.

That is yet another area where these pidgins differ from the norms set for the pidgins, i.e., the concept of decreolization or post-creole continua (De Camp, 1971).

The concept of decreolization excepts the creoles to approximate to the standard form when the original source language is reintroduced either as an official language or as a language of education. The decreolization leads to post-creole continua (De Camp, 1971) the classical examples are the Jamaican and Guyanese creoles. The post-creole continua as elaborated by Bickerton (1973 and 1975) are regarded as dynamic models incorporating both the polar ends. Bailey (1973) considers this process as one of recreolizing the Basilect implying that the fully creolized end of continuum is being lost while the mesolectal varieties are expanding simultaneously. Bailey designates this process as 'decreolizing gradation'. While Dey (1974) prefers to call this process as a 'series of co-existing overlapping system which exhibit constrained mixing'. Sreedhar (1985) has clearly established such decreolizations do not take place in any of the known areas where Indian based pidgins and creoles are spoken. In the case of Sadari and Halbi, one finds the dominant official language, viz., Hindi, co-existing simultaneously with Sadari and Halbi. Both Hindi and Halbi are used in law courts in the Baster district. The native speakers of Sadari and Halbi, even when educated through the medium of Hindi are found to keep the systems of their first language and Hindi distinct. It was further found that there was very little difference in the varieties of Sadari spoken by the educated and uneducated persons, thereby education not being a variable at all as far as the variation is concerned.

We have so far cited various instances where the pidgins and creoles spoken in India fail to conform to the yard stick laid down for pidgins and creoles. It has also been stated that these languages are not natural languages to the extent they fail to show any phonemic correspondence with the members of the genetically related languages. They are also not the products of Koine formation. In such a situation, a million dollar question is: what these languages are? How are they to be designated? Since senior Creolists, like Bickerton[3] are unwilling to consider this writer's suggestion to broadbase the norms of the pidgins to include the phenomena found in India., The answer to the question is to be kept in abeyance until in-depth studies on different pidgin/creoles based on European and non-European languages are undertaken. Till then we do continue to designate the languages described in this volume as pidgin-creoles.

As mentioned at the outset of this editorial, the field work for the four studies included in this volume was undertaken at different periods. While the studies on Halbi and Sadari of M.P., Bihar and West Bengal was undertaken by a three-member[4] pilot survey team, the study on Sadari of Orissa was undertaken by a two-member[5] team and the study of Bazaari Hindi by a single person. The study of Bazaari Hindi had a limited objective, viz., to find out the nature and the role of languages of wider communication, if any, existing in the Dharawi slum of Bombay, whereas the study on Halbi and Sadari had a much wider objective, viz., the feasibility of using these languages in education, mass media and in administration. The members of both the pilot survey teams were severely hampered in their attempt to collect sufficient data in the field owing to the limited time at their disposal at each point and also owing to the non-availability of any public transport to visit different points. At many places the members had either to ride on the cycles or walk long distances to reach their targets. These certainly had their impact on the quantity of data collected. In view of these, a detailed description of the languages concerned could not be given. Despite these, the main purpose of these studies was served. In addition to the language samples including variations in language use, were also collected. Though no questionnaire was distributed to the informants nor administered to them, the field team had a set of questions. The information on these themes were collected mainly through informal chats with different individuals as well as through group discussions. Such an attempt helped in getting an unbiased and unguarded statements on different socio-political issues. The authors of the reports have mentioned at the appropriate places the interpretation of such discussion. Please see Appendix-3 of the editorial for the set of questions the field team had used.

Conclusion

The term LWC is generally used to refer to literary languages having the function of lingua franca. A lingua franca by definition is a language which is used as a means of communication among people who have no native languages in common. Though this definition of a lingua franca would allow two or more regional lingua francae in a multilingual country, like India, which in turn could be designated as the LWC in the particular region where it is used for ILC, the term LWC is usually attributed to a language purely from its functional value for attaining certain instrumental goals. Such an attribution would naturally deny the non-literary languages used as regional lingua franca the status of LWC. This writer, however, deviates from the western thinking with respect to the use of this term and prefers to designate also the non-literary languages used in different regions as regional lingua franca for the purpose of ILC as Ls.W.C. Therefore the three languages included in this study are Ls.W.C. in the regions where they are used as lingua franca. Further, the multilingual, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural context found in India permits of the use of two or more regional lingua franca, at times more than one language being used with a single region for ILC of which one could be a pidgin-creole. When two or more languages are used within a single region for ILC, each of the languages would ordinarily have a separate domain, albeit with some overlapping of the domains. For instance, Bazaari Hindi, Sadari, etc., are used predominantly in market places, while standard Hindi, English, etc., are used in education, administration, etc. In non-Hindi states, the official language of the state may also play role in ILC. To some extent, the type of social strata involved would also determine the choice of language used for ILC. For instance, the elite group amongst themselves might use English for ILC but would use a pidgin or even the official language of the state when one of the inter-locutors belong to non-elite groups.

This writer also differs from the western line of thinking in respect of the definition of the pidgins. The languages included in this study are designated as pidgin-creoles despite the fact that they do not conform to the norms set for the classical pidgins. The main areas where these pidgins-creoles differ from the western norms include: (i) the absence of any master-slave relationship between the so-called super-strata and sub-strata communities, (ii) the pidgins having multiple sources as against the classical pidgins going back to a single super-strata language and (iii) the absence of decreolization and the subsequent post-creole continua when the creoles co-exist with the official languages from which they were connected with. Since there is a rethinking amongst some western creolists themselves in respect of the norms set for the pidgins, this writer prefers to designate the languages included in this study as pidgin-creoles, particularly because they are not the products of Koine formation nor are they natural languages in the sense of being members of any language sub-family. Two of the three languages included in this volume were taken up for study with a view to finding out the need and feasibility of using them in education, mass media and in administration. The studies revealed that there is a negative attitude towards Sadari in Orissa and the tribal population in Orissa use a variety of Oriya for ILC. As opposed to this negative attitude towards Sadari in Orissa, the studies also revealed that Sadari and Halbi have highly favourable attitude in Bihar and Bastar district of M.P. respectively. Since both these languages are used either as a first or a second language by a large number of tribal and non-tribal population belonging to different distinct linguistic groups at different levels and in different domains, these two languages have a high functional load when compared to the other languages in the region. The studies also revealed that these pidgin-creoles are also used informally in the classrooms for explaining various concepts.

It is a universally accepted fact that imparting instructions through the mother tongue helps children in obtaining optimal learning. Since more than half the users of these languages belong to the S.T. Communities, and since even small children have fluency in these languages it would be quite economical to use these languages in their respective regions in formal education and in administration, as it would be an El Dorado to prepare language and subject textbooks in the respective mother tongue of the children particularly for the ones coming from the numerically small linguistic groups. Since children from a large number of linguistic groups could use a single set of textbooks without losing the advantage of learning through the MT, it would be economical as well as feasible to write qualitatively good language and subject textbooks in these two languages. Thus the studies in Halbi and Sadari opens up a new vista in the development of these pidgin-creoles through proper language planning for using them in education.

It was mentioned earlier that the study of the Bazaari Hindi, was taken up primarily for the purpose of finding out its use as a LWC for the purpose of ILC. Even this study could have an applicational value, if one is willing to have a rational approach to the language problems in this country. As a matter of strategy, the country has opted for a three language formula in school education. From the different regions and for different reasons, this policy has brought a good deal of discontentment. One of the main complaints with regard to this policy is the manner in which it is implemented in the Hindi belts. While there is no opposition to the three-language formula as such, there is at least a good deal of genuine fear amongst the non-Hindi speakers in accepting Hindi as the sole official language of the country, primarily because it is felt that the Hindi speakers would have advantage over others in competitive examination. Presently every non-Hindi state in India has an official language which is different from Hindi, the official language of the Union of India, whereas in the states in the Hindi belts, the State and Union official language coincides. This is another advantage the Hindi speakers have over the non-Hindi speakers. The framers of the Constitution of India had opted for a variety of Hindi which would have the genesis of all the Indian languages. This, however, has not materialized. A major difficulty of the non-Hindi speakers in learning Hindi is its complicated number-gender concord system from which the Bazaari Hindi is free. Since a pidgin like Bahasha Malay was developed and redesignated as Bahasha Indonesia to take the role of the sole official language of the country, academically there would be no difficulty in developing the Bazaari Hindi which would then be quite distinct from the standard Hindi used in the Hindi states. Since BH is generally accepted for ILC in almost all parts of the non-Hindi belts in the country it is assumed that the use of standardized BH as the Official National Language would have less of resistance from amongst the non-Hindi speakers. But it may not be palatable to the Hindi speakers who form a majority in this country.

M. V. Sreedhar

NOTES

1. In the Koraput district of Orissa, another predominantly tribal belt in Orissa has one to many ratio of language contact situation, resulting in the birth and spread of Desia, a pidgin based on Oriya. Owing to certain constraints, the Koraput district could not be included in this study.

2. While Bhattri is a dialect of Halbi, Laria and Panch-pargania are the dialects of Sadari.

3. Personal communication vide his letter dated March 1, 1985.

4. The members of this team were: Ms. Rekha Sharma, Dr. K. P. Acharya and Dr. Sam Mohal Lal.

5. The members of this team were: Ms. Joy Reddy and Dr. K. S. Rajyashree.

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Appendix 1 (Editorial)

Comparative Chart

	Person		Equative Past	Future	Possessive	
	Singular	Plural			Static	Locative
Sadari	heke/ hekey	heke/ hai	rəhe/rəhia/ rəhlək	hui/hotei/ bəni	ahe/ay/ həi	ahe/ay/ həi
Halbi	ay/hoy	ay/hay	rəhe/rəlo/ay	de/ay	asot	asot/ay/aso
Bhattri	ay	ase/at asot	rəhe/rəle/ rəhe	de/ay		
Panch-pargania	heke	hekəi	rəhe	hoy	həi	həi
Lariya	hai/hE	hai/hE	rəhis/rəho	bəni	ahe/e	ahe/e
Marathi						
Std.	ahe	ahet	hota	hoil	ahe	ahe
Non-std.	hai/ay aye	hayet/ ahot	vəhta/rəh	vəhil/huil	hai/ay/ ahe/heye	
Chattisgarhi	həwəu	həu	rəhəw/rəhən	hubo	hubo	
Bhojpuri	həw		rəhlən	hoi	hoi	

Appendix 2 (Editorial)

Distribution of the Speakers of Sadari, Lariya, Panch-pargania, Halbi and Bhattri

	Sadari	Lariya	Panch-pargania	Halbi	Bhattri
All India figures ...	691,272	45,524	57,947	299,655	85,069
Assam ...	20,468	--	--	--	--
Bihar ...	489,613	--	57,947	--	--
Madhya Pradesh ...	84,817	10	--	293,493	85,048
Maharashtra ...	--	--	--	4,276	--
Orissa ...	--	45,514	--	--	20
West Bengal ...	94,501	--	--	--	--
Andaman Island ...	1,868	--	--	--	--

N.B.: The figures given are of the 1961 Census. The 1971 Census for Halbi shows 340,460. The figures for the languages of the 1971 Census are not available. The entire Bhattri population in M. P. are located in Bastar district. Similarly 339,977 Halbi speakers (1971 Census) are located in Bastar district of M. P. Sadari is MT for 532,733 speakers and the rest use it as a second language. Panch-parganiya is spoken principally in the Ranchi district of Bihar.

Appendix 3 (Editorial)

1. Duration of the stay of each community studied in the present location. If known, the place from which their ancestors migrated.

2. How do they rate the other tribes in the neighbourhood (attitude).

3. How do the non-tribals and the other tribes rate them (attitude).

4. How close/distant are their social relationships with their neighbours (both the other tribals and the non-tribals/different tribes).

5. Do they participate in the social functions, like marriage, death ceremony, etc., of the other tribes and the non-tribals (possible cause for both participation and non-participation).

6. Is Inter-tribal marriage possible? If so, which other tribes are preferred? Is there any prohibition of marriage with any other tribe? (Reasons? - linguistic, religious, ethnic.).

7. If a pidgin is used as inter-tribal language what is the attitude towards that pidgin/creole? Any value judgement.

8. Attitudes of the tribes towards the other tribal languages and the dominant language of the region.

9. Is there any group (ethnic or socio-economic) which refuse to use the pidgin/creole in an area where it is freely used? If so, whether it is with any specific community or with all communities?

10. Information about the use of Pidgin/Creole in radio, newspapers, news bulletins, books, etc. If possible, one or two radio talks may be taped from the AIR stations concerned. Also obtain copies of printed/stencilled materials.

11. Information about the particulars of broadcasts in the different tribal languages.

12. Particulars of voluntary agencies working in the areas of education/social service, etc. Also information about the Government Institutions, like schools, hospitals, etc.

13. Socio-political information about the Jharkhand movement. (Composition of the population, area, district, etc., claimed to be included in this proposed state). Attitude of each tribe in Bihar and Orissa towards the movement. (Educated and un-educated separately).

14. The domains in which a pidgin is used as a second language.

15. Whether or not any particular variety of a pidgin/creole is considered better than the other varieties. (Whether the response by different tribes are likely to show any uniformity).

16. The ability of the children in using a pidgin. Recordings of some random questions and answers or story telling by the children at different places may be done.

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HALBI OF BASTAR (MADHYA PRADESH)

K. P. Acharya

HALBI OF BASTAR (M.P.)

I. INTRODUCTION

A report including a tentative analysis of the pilot survey data on Halbi language as spoken in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh is presented in this section. The data consisted of 228 lexical items and 61 sentences from each sample. In addition to the collection of linguistic data on Halbi, some socio-cultural information of the people and of the area were also collected. The findings of the report are tentative in nature in view of its limited data.

Bastar District

Bastar district is one of the 43 districts of Madhya Pradesh. Among all the districts, this is the biggest district with an area of 39,070 square kilometres having a total population of 1,515,956 (1971 Census). In the north of Bastar are Durg and Raipur districts of M.P. and in the east the Koraput district of Orissa, in the south Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh and in the west the Chanda district of Maharashtra.

Bastar district comes under the Raipur division of Madhya Pradesh, the other two districts which come under this division are Raipur and Durg. Bastar has eight tahsils, viz., (1) Bijapur, (2) Bhanupratappur, (3) Dantewada, (4) Jagadalpur, (5) Kanker, (6) Kondagaon, (7) Konta and (8) Narayanpur. Some other particulars of the Bastar district are as follows:

1) Village population	...	1,459,321
2) Town population	...	56,635
3) Percentage of the scheduled tribe population to the total population	...	68%
4) Number of villages which are thickly populated	...	3,382
5) Number of villages which are thinly populated	...	294

Percentage of literacy[1] of the Bastar district in 1961 was 6.91 which increased to 9.63% in 1971. The literacy in 1961 among men was between 11.69% and 15.17% and among women between 2.15% and 4.07%. The literacy in the rural area was 5.93% and in the town 48.24%. In 1971, the literacy in the rural area increased to 8.15%.

Given below is a list of numerically large tribes of the Bastar district along with the total number of population according to the 1961 Census.

Bhattra (72,226), Gond including Madiya, Muriya, Dhurwa (723,040), Halba (40,168), Parja and Gadaba (1,063). Some important tribal languages of Bastar are as follows: Bhattri, Dhurwi, Gondi including Madiya, Halbi and Parji. The particulars of educational institutions in the Bastar district are as follows:

Particulars	Primary	Middle	Higher Secondary
1	2	3	4
1. Total number of schools run by the Education Department	454	50	5
2. Central Schools run by the Dandakaranya Project	99	10	4

1	2	3	4
3*. Total number of schools run by the Tribal Welfare Department	1,758	293	42
4. Schools run by Janpad	562	51	--
5. Schools run by private organizations	4	2	4
Grand Total ...	2,877	406	55
*Detailed particulars of No.3 :			
1) Jagadalpur	350	61	8
2) Kondagaon	281	49	8
3) Bijapur	237	31	6
4) Dantewara	201	35	5
5) Bhanupratappur	246	53	7
6) Narayanpur	249	36	4
7) Konta	194	28	4

Halbi Language

Halbi is spoken by the Halba tribe who live mainly in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. It is also spoken by the other tribes, such as Madiya, Muriya, Bhattra, Gond, etc., both as mother tongue and as second language. Muriyas speak Halbi as their mother tongue. In Madhya Pradesh it is mainly spoken in the Bastar district of the Raipur division consisting of Raipur, Durg and Bastar districts. It is also spoken in Maharashtra and Orissa. According to the 1971 Census there are about 293,493 Halbi speakers[2] in Madhya Pradesh, 4,276 in Maharashtra and 1,886 speakers in Orissa. According to the 1971 Census the population of Halbas in the Raipur division is as follows:

District		Male	Female	Total
Bastar	...	151,530	140,774	292,304
Durg	...	215	205	420
Raipur	...	36	11	47

Different scholars[3] have given different opinions about the Halbi language. Grierson (Vol.VII, p.330) says that Halbi is a curious mixture of Oriya, Chhattisgarhi and Marathi. Kalidas Mukherji (I.L. Vol.II, 1940-44 : 550-53) claims that Halbi is an interesting dialect derived from some Aryan dialect or dialects. Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya (I.L., 1957 : 16-18) disputes the claim of Grierson on Halbi as a dialect of Marathi and Bhattri as a dialect of Oriya, rather he felt that there was little difference between Halbi and Bhattri and believed that these (i.e., Halbi and Bhattri) were two dialects of an Indo-Aryan speech that was spoken in Bastar and neighbouring regions in olden times.

R. C. Mehrotra came to the conclusion that Halbi was a dialect of Chhattisgarhi (personal communication). Suniti Kumar Chatterji (requoted from R. A. Singh, 1977)[4] considered Halbi a dialect of Magadhi. According to Chatterji 'Halbi has been considerably influenced by Magadhi and it would not be proper to treat it as a dialect of Marathi'. Baburam Saxena considered Halbi a dialect of Chhattisgarhi (R. A. Singh, 1977). "In 1961, the Linguist to the Registrar General stated in the Census volume on Language, 'of late, Linguists have been found inclined to classify Halbi under Eastern Hindi and not Marathi".

Chitra Kaushikar (1972, unpublished Ph.D. thesis)[5] has not dealt with the linguistic affiliation of Halbi excepting considering it as a language belonging to the Indo-Aryan group. She further said that it was the main contact language of Bastar for the purposes of trade and local administration in the tribal area.

During the pilot survey, the team collected information from different persons on Halbi including the social dialects which are summarised as under.

Kunbuchiya spoken by the people living in Bastar-Orissa border. This is mainly spoken by those who are the followers of 'Alakhniranjan cult'.

Mirgani spoken by the weavers of the Gangamundapara locality of Jagadalpur.

Candari spoken by the scheduled caste people, like Mahar.

Pandari spoken by the Pandas of the Bastar district.

The information collected on the regional variation of Halbi is as follows:

(1) The northern variety of Halbi, having influence from the Chhattisgarhi, (2) The southern variety of Halbi, having influence from Dorli, (3) The eastern variety of Halbi merging with Bhattri and (4) The western variety of Halbi influenced by Marathi.

It is also learnt that 'Bastariya' is a variety of Chhattisgarhi having influenced from Halbi, and that the variety of Halbi spoken in the central part of Bastar is the standard one because of its assumed purity, whereas other varieties have been affected by their surrounding dialects.

Methodology Adopted for the Study

Selection of Informants

Informants within a tribe were selected on the basis of the predetermined variables like age, education, duration of stay in the particular place, etc. In getting the right type of persons, the help of the local officers were sought. Among the uneducated Halbi informants a 40 year old person from the Bhattra tribe, a 35 year old person from the Dhurwa tribe and a 26 year old person from the Muriya tribe, and a 61 year old non-tribal Chhattisgarhi speaker were selected. Other informants had education varying from 4th standard to graduation.

Tribes Covered Under the Study

The team covered the following tribes for collecting the data on Halbi.

Bhattra (2)[6], Dhakar (1), Dhurwa (2), Gond (3), Halba (1), Madiya (2), and Muriya (2), (Madiya and Muriya are sub-tribes of Gond).

Details of the data collected from different tribes are as follows:

Halbi as mother tongue from: Dhakar (1), Dhurwa (1), Gond (1), Halba (1), Muriya[7] (2) and Halbi as a second language from: Bhattra (2), Dhurwa (1), Gond (2), Madiya[8] (2) and also Bhattra speaking Bhattri as MT (2).

In addition to the collection of full data as listed above, were also checked with different individuals of the tribes to know the extent of variations within each tribe.

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II. SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Tentative Analysis : Socio-cultural Information

In addition to the collection of linguistic data on Halbi, the team collected socio-cultural information including the inter-tribal communication pattern of the area.

Inter-tribal Communication

In Bastar district the dominant tribes are as follows:

(1) Bhattra
(2) Dhurwa[9]
(3) Gadaba
(4) Gond
(5) Halba
(6) Madiya
(7) Muriya
(8) Parja

Out of the above tribes all except Muriyas have their respective mother tongues. Muriyas have adopted either Halbi or Hindi as their mother tongue. Even among the tribes who speak a language of their own, a number of persons have given up their ancestral language in favour of Halbi or Hindi. Bhattras of the Bastar district either speak Bhattri or Halbi as their mother tongue. Since the medium of instruction in the Bastar district (like other districts of Madhya Pradesh) right from the primary level is Hindi, all the educated speakers among the tribals know Hindi also. Those who have not received formal education can manage to speak Hindi. Bhattras of village Sargipal (near Jagadalpur) and surrounding areas claim to know only Bhattri and not Halbi and in the Jagadalpur weekly markets Bhattras speak in Bhattri to the Halbas and to the other tribes who do not know Bhattri but know Halbi. The Halbas and the other tribes in their turn reply to them in Halbi without any loss of mutual intelligibility. This may be because Halbi and Bhattri are two different names of a single language.

Most of the Gadabas of Sargipal and surrounding villages have lost their mother tongue 'Gadabi' and use Bhattri both in the domains of intimate circle, like home and for intra- and inter-tribal communication. Those Gadabas belong to the Munda group, but very few of them speak Gadabi. With the help of a local person, the team collected some data on Gadabi through Battri language.

Halbi is used as the language of inter-tribal communication in many parts of the Bastar district. In fact Halbi serves as the regional lingua franca of the Bastar district. It is learnt that Telangi is used for inter-tribal communication in the extreme south of the Bastar district. The team could not visit that area of the Bastar district for want of time and non-availability of transport. The educated tribes speak in Hindi if they so desire to their fellow tribesmen and speak in Hindi with the non-tribals if the latter do not initiate contact through Halbi.

Muriyas do not even remember whether they had any language of their own in the past. They have been speaking Halbi as their first language which is also used for inter-lingual communication. Some of the Muriyas have adopted Hindi as their mother tongue. Tribes living in the Orissa border and Andhra border are reported to be knowing Oriya and Telugu respectively. But the language used for inter-tribal communication is not known. The team could not visit the area.

Status

Most of the tribes in the Bastar district are Hindus. They have adopted many ways of Hindu life and culture. They visit Hindu temples and celebrate Hindu festivals.

The Halba tribe is an advanced tribe from the social and economic point of view. They are cultivators and practice cultivation. They are also advanced in the field of education and many Halbas are holding good positions in the Government service in Madhya Pradesh. Gadaba tribesmen have migrated from Jaipur and surrounding areas of Orissa and are settled in the Bastar district. Gadabas even though settled in Bastar, associate themselves with Orissa for marriage and other social purposes. They prefer to marry the girls from the Orissa region and give their daughters to the fellow tribesmen of Orissa.

Tribes of the Bastar district in general have different degrees of status in their socio-economic life. Though they have adopted Hinduism most of the tribes in this area are found having separate identity of their own. Inter-tribal marriages are strictly prohibited.

The tribes of Bastar have a social hierarchy. Halbas are considered superior to all the other tribes; Bhattras are considered superior to Gadabas. If a girl from the Bhattra tribe marries a Gadaba boy she is expelled from the Bhattra tribe. Boys of the Bhattra community marrying a Gadaba girl would also be expelled from the Bhattra community but the boys thus expelled would be welcomed and admitted into Gadaba community as the boys happen to come from a tribe of higher status than their own.

Madiya tribe is considered of low status by the other tribes on the ground that they are comparatively backward, and partly because they eat raw meat and do not dress properly. Fellow tribesmen of the area do not like to have matrimonial relationship with the Madiya tribe.

According to the information collected from the field, all the tribes consider the non-tribal people as of higher social status and all non-tribal people in their turn consider the tribal people as of low social status and usually no marriage takes place between a tribe and a non-tribe. It is learnt that now-a-days due to formal education, educated boys and girls from different tribes have attitudes with regard to the selection of spouses of their choice irrespective of the tribe. Numbers of such inter-group marriages are not high yet. Such couples however are not admitted in their society and they have to live on their own.

The villages where four or five different tribes live together have certain obligations amongst themselves. They will participate in marriage and death ceremonies of other tribes but do not eat in their houses, though, sometimes uncooked food is eaten.

Attitude

The term attitude is used in a general sense. Some information regarding the attitude of the tribals towards their own language and other languages were collected partly through direct observation and partly through interview.

Attitude Towards Language

It was found that the tribal people are proud of their languages. They have a sense of identity if some one belonging to a tribe or not, speaks the language of the tribe while talking with them. They feel delighted particularly if a non-tribal talks to them in the tribal language.

The tribes having their own languages find it difficult to manage through their own language in all the domains particularly in urban areas. So, they need a common language for communication. Halbi serves this purpose to a great extent. So, tribals of different ethnic groups know Halbi language and also recognise its importance as the public code. Hence, they have positive attitude towards Halbi.

On the other hand, Hindi being the dominant language of the region in administration and education, the tribes of the area have a feeling that their languages when compared to Hindi are not so developed. Hence they prefer that their children should go to Hindi medium schools and learn Hindi. Tribals who have undergone formal schooling speak Hindi well. The undermentioned reported incident is an indication of the positive attitude of the tribes towards Hindi, particularly in certain domains. One day in Jagadalpur, the team had an informal meeting with the local scholars. In that meeting, an advocate born and brought up in Jagadalpur spoke of the personal feeling of the tribal people towards their own language and Hindi. Advocate being a permanent resident of Jagadalpur knew Halbi very well. In a court case involving a Halbi client he (advocate) argued the case in Halbi language so that his client could understand what he was arguing. But the advocate of the opposite client argued the case in Hindi. When the session was over, the Halba client approached his advocate and reported to have told him that there was very little chance of his winning the case if he continued his arguments in the court in Halbi language which is not the prestige language of the court. Hence, the client requested the advocate to switchover to Hindi language for further arguments. Halbi client felt that his language was not so developed like Hindi to meet the judicial requirements.

The attitude of non-tribals towards Halbi is quite positive. They consider that the knowledge of Halbi is essential if they wanted to live in the Bastar district.

Collection of Information on Mass Media

Information relating to the use of Halbi language in the mass media like radio, newspaper, etc., and printed literature of Halbi were also collected.

All India Radio - Jagadalpur

The All India Radio, Jagadalpur, broadcasts everyday between 7.30 A.M. to 7.45 A.M. folk music programme in tribal languages including Halbi. Once in a week in the evenings under the rural programme, information about the agriculture, health, etc., is broadcast in the Halbi language for 45 minutes.

Printed Literature

Printed literature on Halbi from the different Government departments were collected. The only local daily newspaper, i.e., "Dandakarayna Samachar" published in Hindi from Jagadalpur also contains news in Halbi in Devanagari script.

State Government Activities on Tribal Languages

Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh, through the Tribal Research and Development Institute had started a scheme of preparation of textbooks in six major tribal languages of Madhya Pradesh, viz., Bhili, Gondi, Halbi, Madiya, Korku and Kurukh. These books were prepared by translating the Hindi textbooks of the Education Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh, into different tribal languages by making some changes to suit the culture of the different tribes. The Tribal Research Institute has also prepared conversational guides in Halbi and other languages for the use of its officials.

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III. GRAMMAR

Linguistic Information : General Remakrs

Among the different tribes of the Bastar district, the Gonds have sub-tribes, like Abuj Madiya, Dandami Madiya, Muriya and Dhurwa. While Gond is a collective term for all these sub-tribes, a section of them who speak Gondi are known as Gonds. Out of these sub-tribes, Madiyas speak their own language, viz., Abuj Madiya (both by Abuj and Dandami Madiyas). Most of the Muriyas have adopted either Halbi or Hindi as their mother tongue. Dhurwas speak Dhurwi, Parajas, a Dravidian tribe of the Bastar district speak Parji. Most of the Gadaba, a Munda tribe, living in the Bastar district have shifted to Bhattri as their mother tongue. Some of the elderly persons speak Gadabi. Some data on Gadabi were collected. It is reported that Korwas who also belong to the Munda group speak a language called Korwa.

Analysis of the Data

During the pilot survey, five mother tongue samples and five second language samples of Halbi were collected from different ethnic groups. Apart from these, for determining the extent of variation, the data were checked at random with several informants belonging to the same ethnic groups from whom full data were collected. Variations found at the phonological and grammatical levels have been listed in appendices bearing numbers 3,4, 5, 6 and 7 treating the variety of Halbi spoken by the Halbas as the reference point. This is mainly because the language Halbi is ascribed to the name of the Halba tribe. In addition to the numerical strength, the higher socio-economic status including the higher level of education of the Halbas when compared to the other tribes were also taken into account.

Phonological Analysis[10]

A tentative phonemic inventory based on the pilot survey is given below.

Vowels:

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

Co-articulation: nasalization and length.

Consonants:

p	t	ṭ	c	k
b	d	ḍ	j	g
p^h	–	–	c^h	k^h
b^h	d^h	$ḍ^h$	–	g^h
m	n	ṇ	–	ṅ
	s	–	–	h
	l	ḷ		
	r	ṛ		
	r^h			

Examples for the vowel phonemes are as follows:

biłəi	'cat'
kuruwa	'owl'
korto:r	'to comb'

kəkəi	'comb'
kapa:t	'door'
kera	'banana'

Vowel length is phonemic, for example:

i and i:	pikər	'pipal tree'	si:nd	'palm tree'
u and u:	musa	'rat'	mu:ṇḍ	'head'
e and e:	kera	'banana'	c^{h}e:ri	'goat'
o and o:	goro:s	'milk'	go:nd^{h}ri	'onion'
ə and ə:	məc^{h}əri	'fish'	jə:r	'fever'
a and a:	saha	'teak'	ha:ḷa	'bone'

Examples of consonantal phonemes:

/p/	pəhila	'first'
/t/	ta:m	'copper'
/ṭ/	ṭa:ṅg	'left leg'
/ċ/	ċa:ṭi	'ant'
/k/	ko:ṛki	'spade'
/b/	ba:ri	'ear ring'
/d/	da:di	'father's mother'
/ḍ/	guṇḍi	'mosquito'
/j/	ja:l	'fishing net'
/g/	go:nd^{h}ri	'onion'
/p^h/	p^{h}əṭəyi	'dothi'
/t^h/	duyṭ^{h}ən	'two'
/c^h/	c^{h}ati	'chest'
/k^h/	k^{h}asle	'down'
/b^h/	b^{h}a:ṭe	'sister's husband'
/d^h/	d^{h}a:n	'paddy'
/ḍ^h/	ḍ^{h}akklo	'to shut'
/g^h/	g^{h}enlo	'to buy'

/m/	ma:s	'meat'
/n/	d^{h}a:n	'paddy'
/s/	susra:	'wife's father'
/h/	saha	'teak'
/l/	k^{h}asle	'down'
/ḷ/	ko:ḷo	'dog'
/r/	ba:ri	'ear ring'
/ṛ/	bəṛəru:k^{h}	'baniyan tree'
/r^{h}/	bər^{h}a	'pig'
/w/	ka:wa	'crow'
/y/	a:ya	'mother'

General Statements

All the short vowels that occur in the final position are longer in duration than the corresponding vowels in the other positions.

All the vowels except ə and i can occur in all the three positions of a word. ə does not occur finally and i does not occur initially.

Most of the vowels are nasalised. Sometimes vowels preceded by the nasal consonants are also nasalized as in nā:gər 'plough' which is in variation with na:ɦər.

Vowels, like e, o have less frequency of occurrence in the final position as compared to their occurrences in the other positions. The occurrence of long vowels in the medial position is higher than in the other positions. Most of the words in Halbi end in vowels.

In Halbi, all the consonants except n, ṅ, ḷ, r^{h}, ṛ, w and y can occur in the intial position of the word. All the consonants excepting b^h, $ḍ^h$, g^h can occur medially. All the consonants excepting p^h, b^h, d^h, $ḍ^h$, c, c^h, k^h, g, g^h, ṇ, ḷ, r^h and w can occur in the final position. Aspirated consonants have limited distribution when compared to their unaspirated counterparts. ḷ also has a very limited occurrence. Bilabial and dental nasals are found as phonemes but retroflex and palatal nasals are not found at the phonemic level as they occur followed by homorganic stop consonants. All the stop consonants have their aspirated counterparts except t^h, $ṭ^h$ and j^h. The trill r has an aspirated counterpart, viz., r^h.

The occurrence of long consonants is quite less; whenever they occur they are also found in variation with their corresponding short consonants. Examples:

dulli	∽	duli	'bride'
dulla	∽	dula	'bridegroom'

Syllabic Pattern

The most common type of words found in Halbi occurs in mono or disyllabic words. Among the monosyllabic words CVC is of high frequency. Among the disyllabic words CV(C)CV(C) pattern is of high frequency. In addition, few other types are also found. There are few words having trisyllabic pattern, these are mostly of CV(C)CV(C)V type. Polysyllabic words are very rarely found. Syllabic structure of Halbi is the same across different ethnic group.

Cluster Pattern

In Halbi, vowel sequences are not found. Clusters of identical consonants or long consonants are rare, even if they occur they are in variation with their ocrresponding single consonants. However, clusters of non-identical consonants are possible. Two or three consonant clusters are also possible. These consonant clusters do not occur in the initial position. Two consonant clusters can occur either in the medial position or final position, whereas three consonant clusters occur only in the medial position.

Examples of C_1 C_2 clusters occurring in the medial position are as follows:

-pj-	upjən	'crop'
-tr-	sətra	'husband's father'
-kr-	ba:kra	'room'
-kṛ-	ba:kṛa	'crab'
-ḍr-	kəḍri	'knife'
-mr-	ka:mra	'blanket'
-mṛ-	kumṛa	'pumpkin'
-nd-	mundi	'ring'
-nl-	g^henlo	'to buy'
-yg-	ba:yga	'brinjal'
-ws-	ba:wsi	'flute'
-hr-	cehra	'face'
-rd-	mirding	'drum'
-ṛk-	ko:ṛki	'spade'
-yk-	koyka	'parrot'

Examples of C_1 C_2 clusters occurring in the final position.

-ṇḍ	ka:ṇḍ	'arrow'
-ṅg	ṭaṅg	'leg'

Following table shows the occurrence of two consonant clusters. The verticle line represents the first member and the horizontal line represents the second member of the cluster.

First member	Second member								
	d	ḍ	j	k	g	s	l	r	ṛ
p			+						
m								+	+
t							+		
ḍ								+	
n	+								
ṇ	+								
k								+	+
ṅ					+				
w						+			
s								+	
h								+	
r	+								
ṛ			+						
y			+						

+sign shows the occurrence of the cluster

Examples of C_1 C_2 C_3 clusters. In these cases C_1 C_2 are invariably homorganic consonants, example:

-ndr-	jo:ndra	'maize'
-ṇḍk-	əṇḍki	'finger'
-ndl-	ra:ndlo	'to cook'

Grammatical Classes : Nominals

Halbi also shows some of the grammatical classes like noun, verb, adjective, etc., as found in other languages[11].

Noun

A noun in Halbi can take number, gender and/or case markers.

For example:

ga:r	'egg'
ga:r-mən	'eggs'
ga:r-co	'of egg'

When number and case markers are added to a noun, number marker comes first and then the case marker. For example:

ga:r-mən-co	'of eggs'

Some nouns in Halbi show overt marker for gender. Example:

leka	'boy'
leki	'girl'
ḍəuka	'husband'
ḍəuki	'wife'

Structure of a noun in Halbi is as follows:

Noun Root ± Gender ± Number ± Case.

Examples:

leka	'boy'
leki	'girl'
lekico	'of the girl'
lekimənco	'of the girls'

Classification of Nouns

Nouns in Halbi can be classified into two categories, viz., (1) animate and (2) inanimate. The criterion for such a classification is based on the presence or absence of the accusative case marker with the nouns, i.e., nouns referring to the animate beings show the presence of the accusative case marker -ke while the nouns referring to the inanimate beings show its absence. For example:

(1) Animate:

sa:p -ke məi ma:re-de
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. snake (acc.) I kill can)
1 2 3 4 5
'I can kill a snake'

kali hun-ke kukur ca:bun k^{h}a:dlo
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. yesterday him dog bit -eat-past)
1 2 3 4 5
'dog bit him yesterday'

(2) Inanimate:

moco ka:je kinik k^{h}a:to ka:je pa:ni a:n
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(lit. me for some drinking - for water bring)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'bring some drinking water for me'

hun k^{h}a:na k^{h}a:yse
1 2 3
(lit. he food eat -ing)
1 2 3
'he is eating food'

Pronouns

A pronoun is distinguished for person, number and case, but not for gender. The personal pronouns functioning as the subject of a sentence show agreement in person with the verb. Pronouns can be sub-divided into the following groups: (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinite and (5) Relative.

Personal Pronoun:

Personal pronouns are distinguished for three persons, viz., first, second and third persons and two numbers, viz., singular plural.

Personal pronouns are as follows:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	məy	hami
Second	tuy	tumi
Third	hun/un	hunmən

Demonstrative Pronoun:

Demonstrative pronouns of Halbi are as follows:

hun	'that'
e	'this/these'
o	'that/those'

The demonstrative pronouns show distinction only for proximate and remote and not for number. Examples:

e moco bəila ga:ṛi a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. this my bullock cart is)
1 2 3 4 5
'this is my bullock cart'

e həmco bəila ga:ṛi a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. this our bullock cart is)
1 2 3 4 5
'these are our bullock carts'

o hunco kukur a:y
1 2 3 4
(lit. that his/her dog is)
1 2 3 4
'that is his/her dog'

Interrogative Pronoun:

Following are the interrogative pronouns.

kay	'what'	kaco	'whose'
kon	'who'	kəha	'where'

Few illustrative examples of each of these are listed below.

kay 'what'

tu-co na:w ka:y na:w a:y?
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. your name what name is)
1 2 3 4 5
'what is your name?'

ka:li tuy ka:y k^{h}a:dlis?
1 2 3 4
(lit. yesterday you what eat did)
1 2 3 4 5
'what did you eat yesterday?'

kon 'who'

hun ko:n a:y?
1 2 3
(lit. he who is)
1 2 3
'who is he?'

e ga:y tu-co kaje ko:n ghen-lo?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7-8
(lit. this cow your for who buy-past-person)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'who bought this cow for you?'

kaco 'whose'

e kaco ga:y a:y?
1 2 3 4
(lit. this whose cow is)
1 2 3 4
'whose cow is this?'

kəha 'where'

ka:li tuy kəha ja-se?
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. tomorrow you where go-will)
1 2 3 4 5
'where will you go tomorrow?'

Indefinite Pronoun:

Only one indefinite pronoun, viz., koni 'anybody' or 'someone' has been recorded. Example:

hun ga:wse koni eyet e
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. that village-from some one coming is)
1 2 3 4 5 6

'someone is coming from that village'

Relative Pronoun:

-je refers to both 'who' and 'which'. Examples:

e uni manuk he je moco pəisa corlo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(lit. that he man is who my money steal-past)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'he is that man who stole my money'

je kəpəra ka:li tuy gʰenlis un kʰu:b sunder a:y
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(lit. which cloth yesterday you purchased it very beauti-
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
ful is)
9
'the cloth which you purchased yesterday is very beautiful'

Allomorphic Statements of Pronouns:

(a) Personal pronouns have the following allomorphs:

Free Forms	Bound Forms
məy	mo-, mə-
hami	ham-, am-
tuy	tu-
tumi	tum-

The bound forms occur with the case markers and the free forms occur elsewhere. Of these **mo-** occurs before the genitive case marker and **mə-** occurs before the dative case marker. Example:

mo-co	'my'
mə-ke	'for me'
ham-co	'yours (sg.)'
tu-co	'yours (pl.)'

(b) Interrogative pronoun **kon** has another allomorph, viz., **ka-** occurring before the case marker. Example:

e ka-co ga:y a:y?
1 2 3 4
(lit. this whose cow is)
1 2 3 4
'whose cow is this?'

Adjective

In Halbi, adjectives precede the nouns they qualify. Example:

e e:k bəre mənuk a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. this one great man is)
1 2 3 4 5
'he is a great man'

When adjectives are used predicatively, they occur before the verb. Example:

e ru:k bəre a:y
1 2 3 4
(lit. that tree big is)
1 2 3 4
'that tree is big'

moco b^hay k^hu:b na:ni a:sət
1 2 3 4 5
my brother very young is
1 2 3 4 5
'my brother is very young'

Kaushikar (1977) claims that among adjectives which occur with the animate nouns only, a few show gender differences. They may be called gender marked adjectives, since they have a common base followed by masculine and non-masculine markers. The masculine and non-masculine markers are the same as for the nouns, viz., -a and -i respectively.

pəṇḍra	white or pale complexioned (with a noun in the masculine gender)
pəṇḍri	white or pale complexioned (with a noun in the feminine gender)

There is a gender concord between nouns and gender marked adjectives. The gender of the nouns governs the occurrence of the gender marked adjectives as in:

pəṇḍra leka	'pale complexioned boy'
pəṇḍri leki	'pale complexioned girl'

The data on hand do not have instances like the one cited by Kaushikar.

Numerals

The unit for higher numerals is twenty and its multiples. Numerals in Halbi can be classified into two, viz., (1) Cardinals and (2) Ordinals.

Cardinals:

Cardinal numerals are as follows:

goṭok,	e:k	'one'
	do	'two'
	ti:n	'three'
	ca:r	'four'
	pa:c	'five'
	ce:y	'six'
	sa:t	'seven'
	a:ṭ	'eight'
	nəu	'nine'

dəs	'ten'
koḍi	'twenty'

Numerals after twenty are counted as follows:

e:k koḍi e:k	=	1 x 20 + 1	'twentyone'
e:k koḍi do	=	1 x 20 + 2	'twentytwo'
e:k koḍi dəs	=	1 x 20 + 10	'thirty'
do koḍi	=	2 x 20	'forty' etc.

Ordinals[12]:

The ordinals are formed by suffixing the ordinal marker **-sra** to the numeral concerned. The ordinal for the **first** however has another form **pəhil** which occurs after the zero allomorph for 'one'. Examples:

pəhil	'first'
dusra	'second'
tisra	'third' etc.

Fractions:

The following fractions are found in Halbi.

(1) $ad^{h}a$	1/2
(2) $ded̥^{h}$	1 1/2

The Madiya and Dhurwa groups who speak Halbi as a second language use the form **goṭok** with human beings, which may be treated as numeral classifier.

Madiya:

un goṭok bare manuk a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. he one great man is)
1 2 3 4 5
'he is a great man'

Dhurwa:

un goṭok bare ma:ne a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. he one great man is)
1 2 3 4 5
'he is a great man'

Like adjectives, numerals precede the noun they qualify, as in:

moco gʰəre duyṭʰən kukur a:sət
1 2 3 5 6
(lit. my house two/dog have/are)
1 2 3 5 6
'I have two dogs'

In the above examples, **goṭok** and **ṭʰən** seem to be classificatory suffixes, referring to human and non-human beings respectively. This matter needs further investigations.

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IV. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

A grammatical category according to John Lyons (1968 : 334) "is frequently employed like 'class' or 'set' to refer to any group of elements recognised in the description of particular language. Some authors refer to the 'parts of speech' as 'categories' others, following the more traditional usage, restrict the application of the term to such features associated with the 'parts of speech' in the classical languages as have been mentioned above (person, tense, mood, etc.)".

Under the grammatical categories of the nominals in Halbi the following categories are discussed: (1) Number, (2) Gender and (3) Case.

Number

There are two numbers in Halbi (i) Singular and (ii) Plural. Singular is unmarked and the plural is marked by -mən. This can be added either to the noun or pronoun. Examples:

ga:r	'egg'
ga:r mən[13]	'eggs'
hun/un	'he/she'
hun mən/un mən	'they'

The plural marker is optionally deleted when the context indicates. Example:

hunmən moco be:ṭa a:t
1 2 3 4
(lit. they my son is)
1 2 3 4
'they are my sons'

Sometimes even the context fails to indicate whether or not the noun in reference is in the singular or plural. Example:

e moco bəila ga:ṛi a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. this my bullock cart is)
1 2 3 4 5
'this is my bullock cart'

moco b^{h}a:i k^{h}u:b na:ni a:sət
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. my brother very young is)
1 2 3 4 5
'my brothers are very young'

In the sentences given above, it cannot be clearly stated whether the **bəila gaṛi** and **b^{h}a:i** refer to one object or two or more. Some varieties of Halbi, however show the presence of the plural marker.

Gender

Animate nouns ending in **-a** show opposition in gender by taking the feminine gender suffix **-i**, while the masculine gender is denoted by the base form itself as in:

leka	'boy'
leki	'girl'
ḍəuka	'husband'
ḍəuki	'wife'

Case

Case is that grammatical category which expresses the semantic relations between a noun phrase and the predicate. Halbi has the following six case relations: nominative, accusative, dative, sociative, ablative, genitive and locative. Accusative and dative are put together because they are indicated by a single marker.

Nominative

There is no overt marker to indicate the nominative case. It denotes the subject of the sentence. Example:

moco ba:ba ra:ne a:se
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. I (gen.) father forest-in is)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'my father is in the forest'

a ru:k bəṛe a:y
1 2 3 4
(lit. this tree big is)
1 2 3 4
'this tree is big'

Accusative and Dative

Both the accusative and the dative cases are marked by **-ke**. In the accusative case relation, nouns referring to the animate being take the accusative marker **-ke**, while nouns referring to inanimate nouns show its absence. The accusative case denotes the direct object of the transitive verb. The dative case expresses indirect object. Examples:

ka:ḷi hunke kukur ca:buṇ k^{h}a:dlo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(lit. yesterday he (acc.) dog bit eat (past)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'the dog bit him yesterday'

sa:p-ka məy ma:re
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. snake (acc.) I kill-can)
1 2 3 4 5
'I can kill a snake'

hun k^ha:na k^ha:yese
1 2 3
(lit. he food eat (gerundive)
1 2 3
'he is eating food'

Dative

In the dative case relation also while the nouns referring to the animate nouns take the dative case marker **-ke**, the nouns referring to the inanimate nouns show its absence.

məy aplo pəisa unke di:le
1 2 3 4 5 6 8
(lit. I my (reflexive) money he (acc.) give (past)
1 2 3 4 5 6 8
'I gave my money to him'

tu-ke e kəmi:j ni b^ha:y mo-ke de:s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(lit. you (acc.) this shirt neg. like I (acc.) give)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'If you do not like this shirt give it to me'

In addition to **-ke**, dative case relation is also expressed by another marker **kaje** in conjunction with the genitive case marker.

e ga:y tuco kaje ko:n g^hen-lo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(lit. this cow you (gen.) for who buy (past)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'who bought this cow for you?'

When a sentence has both the accusative and dative case relations, the dative follows the accusative, as in:

məy aplo paisa unke di:le
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. I my money him to gave)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I gave my money to him'

Sociative

This case shows the association of the subject with the object. This is expressed by a case marker -səṅg. This always occurs with the noun which shows the association of someone or something to the subject. Example:

gopalsəṅg məy jauk ni səku
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. Gopal with I go not could)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I could not go with Gopal'

Ablative

This case is expressed by a marker -se or le. This case indicates that the object in question moves from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane. Examples:

hun ga:wse koni eyet e
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. that village-from someone coming is)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'someone is coming from that village'

biha:nle pa:ni ma:rese
1 2 3 4
(lit. morning-from rain raining)
1 2 3 4
'it has been raining from morning'

Genitive

Genitive case is expressed by the marker -co. It expresses the meaning of the belonging to or possession of something. Examples:

e moco bəila ga:ṛi a:y
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. this my-gen. bullock cart is)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'this is my bullock cart'

e hun-co be:ra a:y
1 2 3   4   5
(lit. it he-gen. field is)
      1 2   3   4   5
'it is his field'

Locative

This case is expressed by the markers -ne or e. It expresses the meaning of location either on the space or on time. Examples:

ru:k ne cərəi bəslise
 1   2   3   4
(lit. tree-on/in bird sitting)
      1   2   3   4
'birds are sitting on the tree'

hunmən kʰetne buta karese
  1   2   3   4   5
(lit. they field in work doing)
      1   2   3   4   5
'they are working in the field'

moco gʰə re duiṭʰən kukur a:sət
1 2 3   4   5   6   7   8
(lit. I-gen. house(in) two (cl.suf.) dog is)
      1 2   3 4   5   6   7 8
'I have two dogs in my house'

moco ba:ba ra:ne a:se
 1   2   3 4   5
(lit. my father forest-in is)
      1   2   3 4 5
'my father is in the forest'

Allomorphs of Cases

The allomorphs of the cases are listed below and the data are not enough to give the conditioning for all allomorphs, though conditioning factor is given wherever possible.

(1) Accusative:

-ke and Ø.

-ke occurs with the animate nouns.

-Ø occurs with the inanimate nouns.

(2) Dative:

-ke and -Ø and -kaje.

-ke occurs with the animate nouns.

-Ø occurs with the inanimate nouns.

-kaje occurs with the pronouns referring to the animate beings..

(3) Ablative:

-se and -le.

(4) Locative:

-ne and e.

Both for the ablative and locative cases, data are not enough to give the conditioning factor.

(5) Sociative and Genitive:

These are marked respectively by səng and co. They do not have any positional variants.

Verb

A verb in Halbi can be defined as any stem capable of taking tense, mood and personal markers. Examples:

jato	'to go' (III person)
b^{h}etnde	'will see'
marlo	'killed' (III person)
marlo to	'if killed' (III person)
ja	'go' (imp.)
(root alone)	
hun ke jauk des	'let him go (permissive)'
1 2 3	3 1 2
jayale	'if ... goes', etc.

Structure of a verb in Halbi is as follows:

Verb root ± Causative marker ± Tense marker ± Person marker ± Conditional marker

Sub-classification of Verbs

Verb in Halbi can be sub-classified into (1) transitive and (2) intransitive.

The verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive on the basis of the presence or absence of the nouns functioning as the object of the sentence. Intransitive verbs do not have objects. Examples:

(Tr.)

hun b^hat k^hayse
1. 2 3
'he is eating rice'
1 3 2

hunke kukur cabli
1 2 3
'the dog bit him'
2 3 1

moco pəisa hunke dile
1 2 3 4
'I gave him my money'

rukne cərəi bəslise
1 2 3

'the birds are sitting on the tree'
2 3 1

moke kali mit g^hər.jator ase
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I have to go to my friend's house tomorrow' etc.
1 6 5 3 4 2

Tense

Halbi has three tenses: Present, Past and Future. The present tense marker is -se. Examples:

moco baba ra:ne a:se
1 2 3 4 5 6 78
(lit. I-gen. father forest-in to be tense marker person marker)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'my father is in the forest)'

hun kʰa:na kʰa:yse
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. he food eat-tense marker-person marker)
1 2 3 4 5
'he eats food'

Present tense form also gives the meaning of present continuous, for instance the second sentence above can also mean 'he is eating food'.

The past tense marker is -l. It is suffixed to the base form of the verb. Examples:

hun kʰa:na kʰa:dle
1 2 3
(lit. he food eat-past tense-third person)
1 2 3 4 5
'he ate food'

ka:li tuy ka:y kʰa:dlis
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. yesterday you what eat-past)
1 2 3 4 5
'what did you eat yesterday?'

un manuk gərib rəlo
1 2 3 4
(lit. he man poor remained)
1 2 3 4
'that man was poor'

The future tense marker is d. Examples:

hun kʰa:na kʰa:yde
1 2 3
(lit. he food eat-tense-thrid person)
1 2 3 4

'he will eat food'

un bəre manuk bənede
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. he great man be-future)
1 2 3 4 5
'he will be a great man'

Data are not enough to give a paradigm of personal terminations or markers for all persons. The data collected in the pilot survey show some indications that different persons in the verb have different person markers, viz., **-e** for third person singular, **-is** for second person singular, etc.

Aspect

The data on hand show only the progressive aspect. Example:

hun kʰetne ka:m kərese
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. he field in work do (pr.pro.) III person)
1 2 3 4 5 7
'he is working in the field'

Mood

The following moods are noticed: (1) Imperative, (2) Permissive and (3) Conditional.

Imperative Mood:

Imperative markers are **-n** and **Ø~w**. Examples:

pa:ni a:n	'bring water'
1 2	2 1
gʰər ja	'go to your home'
1 2	2 1
jʰəṭke a:w	'come quickly'
1 2	2 1

Permissive Mood:

The permissive marker is the verb 'give'. Example:

unke ja:uk de:s
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. he-acc. to go give person marker)
1 2 3 4 5
'let him go'

Conditional Mood:

Conditional meaning is expressed by the addition of **-to** to the past tense form of the verb.

ra:t pa:ni ni ma:rleto mela dekʰuk ja:yde
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 910 11 13
(lit. night water not beat past-tense marker person
1 2 3 4 5 6
marker if fair see-to go-will)
7 8 9 10 12
'if it does not rain in the night, we will go to the fair'

Causative

Causatives are formed by the addition of the causative marker **-a** to the verb root. Examples:

piya:le	'caused to drink'
kəra:le	'caused to do'
diva:le	'caused to give'

Transformations

Passive

In Halbi, passive is not expressed. For a sentence like 'Rāvaṇa was killed' the grammatical subject is put in the accusative followed by the appropriate verb form. Example:

Rạvanke ma:rla, i.e., 'killed Ravana'
1 2 2 1

Negation

In Halbi, negatives are prefixed to the verb to be negated. There are two negative markers, viz., **ni** and **no**. **ni** is used to negate the equative sentences and **no** is used elsewhere. For

e ru:k bəre no a:y
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. this tree big not is)
1 2 3 4 5
'this tree is not big'

e mo-co g^{h}ər no a:y
1 2 3 4 5
'this is not my house
1 5 4 2 3

hun b^{h}a:t ni k^{h}a:y-s-e
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. he food not eat-tense marker-person)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'he does not eat food'

hun k^{h}et-ne busa ni kəre-s-e
1 2 3 4 5 6
'he does not work in the field'

Negative imperatives are formed by prefixing **ni** to the imperative forms. Examples:

a:n	'bring'
nia:n	'do not bring'
k^{h}a	'eat'
nik^{h}a	'do not eat'

Adverbs

Adverbs in this language are of two types, viz., adverbs proper, which are free forms and functional adverbs, which are formed by a post position following a noun/pronoun as in:

j^{h}əke aw 'come quickly'
1 2 2 1

hun rukco k^{h}ale soyse
1 2 3 4
'he is sleeping under the tree'
1 4 3 2

Structurally no further sub-division is possible, though semantically three sub-groups can be set-up, viz., adverb of time, adverb of place and adverb of manner. Examples:

Adverb of Time:

ja:be	'when'
pa:c^{h}e	'after'
bihanle	'from the morning'
te:be	'then'

Adverb of Place:

upre	'above'
nice	'below'
k^{h}a:le	'under'

Adverb of Manner:

j^{h}əṭke	'quickly'

- - - -

V. SYNTAX

General Remarks

A sentence in Halbi consists of a noun phrase which functions as the subject and a verb phrase which functions as the predicate.

Phrase

A phrase is a group of words forming a syntactic unit which is not a complete sentence. A simple sentence in Halbi as said above has two phrases, viz., a noun phrase and a verb phrase.

Noun Phrase

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or preceded by one or more attributes. Examples:

moco bəïla ga:ṛi	'my bullock cart'
1 2 3	1 2 3
tʰoḍok pito pa:ni	'some drinking water'
1 2 3	1 2 3
e ru:k	'this tree'
1 2	1 2

(a) Attributive Noun Phrase

This consists of a head noun preceded by one or more attributes; the attributes that precede the head noun can be an adjective or numeral. Examples:

hunco na:ni bəhin	'his younger sister'
1 2 3	1 2 3
pəhil manuk	'first man'
1 2	1 2

If a noun is qualified by an adjective and numeral, numeral occurs before the adjective. Example:

e:k bəṛe mənuk 1 2 3	'one great man'

(b) Coordinate Noun Phrase

A noun phrase composed of two or more nouns linked by a coordinating connective, is also found in Halbi. Examples:

məy aur hun 1 2 3	'I and he' 1 2 3
leka aur leki 1 2 3	'boy and girl' 1 2 3

If the number and case markers are added, they are added to the whole noun phrase, as in:

leka aur lekimənco
[lit. boy and girl (pl.) (gen.)]
'of the boys and girls'

Verb Phrase

Predicate phrase consists of a verb which may be preceded by a noun, and/or an adverb. A verb phrase could also have a discontinuous form. Examples:

ra:n gelo 1 2	'went to the forest' 2 1
j^{h}əṭke a:w	'come quickly'
sapke məy marende 1 2 3	'I can kill a snake' 2 3 1

This sentence can also be stated as:

məy sapke marende 1 2 3	'I can kill a snake' 1 3 2

In other words, the position of the object and subject is not rigid in Halbi.

Clause

A clause consists of a group of words that forms part of a sentence and has a subject and predicate of its own.

In Halbi, there are two types of clauses, viz., main clause and subordinate clause.

A main clause is one which is independent and can stand by itself, whereas a subordinate clause cannot occur as an independent sentence. Example:

tuy moke pəisa deurle tuco ka:je boli sa:g b^{h}a:ji
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
g^{h}eun a:nte
11 12 13 14
(lit. you me-to money give-if you for some vegetable
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
purchase-after-buy-past-person)
11 12 13 14
'had you given me money, I would have brought vegetables for you'

In the above sentence, **tucoka:je bo:li sa:g b^{h}a:ji g^{h}eun a:nte** is the main clause and **tuy pəisa dueurle** is the subordinate clause. A subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

Type of Sentences

Halbi sentences available in the data can be classified as (1) simple and (2) complex.

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence is one which consists of a main clause alone. Example:

hun k^h:na k^{h}a:yse
1 2 3
'he eats food'
1 3 2

Complex Sentence

A complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. Example:

> tuy moke pəisa deurle tuco ka:je boli sa:g b^{h}a:ji
> g^{h}eun a:nte
>
> 'had you given me money, I would have brought
> vegetables for you'

Relationship of Halbi with Bhattri

Finally on the basis of the data on hand, it may be stated that Halbi and Bhattri share a number of features at the phonological and grammatical level. Common features of Halbi and Bhattri are listed in the Appendix-7

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VI. VARIATIONS

Some generalizations about the variations at the phonological and grammatical levels are as follows:

Generalizations about variations are made only at the inter-group level. Intra-group variations are not noticed much. For instance, geminated consonants (C_1C_1) are in variation with their corresponding single consonant (C_1) at the intra-group level. In Halbi variety, for example:

sujji	∽	suji	'needle'
kukku:r	∽	kukur	'dog'

This type of variation is noticed from the same informant at different times.

Muriyas speaking Halbi as mother tongue have ji:b for tongue alternating with ji:p.

Phonological Variations at the Inter-group Level

Variations at phonemic level found amongst groups speaking Halbi as mother tongue and as second language (not all are listed)*. [See, Table].

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*The variations found with the vowels are unsystematic, hence not listed.

Table

	Groups speaking Halbi as MT					Second language			
'paddy'	Dhakar	Dhurwa	Gond	Halbi	Muriya	Bhattra	Gond	Mariya	Dhurwa
	(a) Loss of aspiration								
	d^{h}an	da:n	da:n	d^{h}an	d^{h}an	d^{h}an	da:n	da:n	
'chest'	c^{h}ati	ca:ti	ca:ti	c^{h}ati	cati	c^{h}ati	cati	cati	
	(b) Loss of initial h								
'he'	un	un	un	hun	un				un
'we'	ami	ami	ami	hami	ami	ami	ami	ami	ami
'sickle'	ira			hira			ira	ira	
	(c) Loss of nasal resulting in the preceding vowel being nasalised								
'head'	mũ:ḍ	mũ:ḍ	munḍ	mu:nḍ	mu:nḍ			mũ:ḍ	mũ:ḍ

Variation at the Grammatical Level

1. Number

While groups speaking Bhattri, Dhurwa and Chhattisgarhi as mother tongue and use Halbi as a second language show distinction in number, others have a single form to represent for both the singular and plural, as in:

e moco bəila ga:ṛi a:y
'this is my bullock cart'

e amco bəila ga:ṛimən a:t
'these are our bullock carts'

2. Case

While Halbi (MT) has **səṅg** for sociative case, others have **səṅge**. Similarly while some have **se**, **le** for ablative case, others have only se. A great deal of variation is found in the use of locative case. While Halbi (MT) has **ne** and **e** for the locative case, Dhurwa (SL), Gond (SL) and Bhattra (SL) have only **e**. Chhattisgarhi (SL) and Gond (SL) have **upari**, Dhaker (MT) has **me**, Dhurwa **ne**, Madiya (SL) alternates **tane** ∽ **pər** while Muriya (MT) alternates **t**^{h}**ane** with **upre**.

3. Tense (Future)

Gond (MT) and Madiya (SL) have **d** alternating with **b** for the future tense, Gond (SL) has **d** alternating with **v** while Madiya (MT) has **d** alternating with **s**. All others have only **d** for the future tense.

4. Moods

Optative:

Dhakar (MT) and Dhurwa (SL) have **aːs** for the optative while other have **s**.

Conditional:

All the varieties have **to** as the conditional marker, but some use additional markers also for instance Bhattra (SL), Gond (SL), and Dhurwa (MT) use **agar** while Gond (MT) use **bəle** also.

Interrogative Pronouns:

While Halba (MT) has only **kay** for 'what' others alternate **ka** with **kav**. Similarly Gond (SL) has only **kəcu** for 'whose' while others alternate **kon** and **kaco**.

Tentative Conclusions

On the basis of the pilot survey data collected in the Bastar district, following tentative conclusions can be made.

1) Languages identified by different names, such as Bhattri and Halbi are structurally more or less the same.

2) Variations of Halbi both at phonological and grammatical levels across different tribes are noticed (See, Appendix-4 and 6).

3) Variety of Halbi spoken in and around Jagadalpur has to be taken as the standard variety because of the following reasons:

(a) Acceptability and intelligibility of the Jagadalpur variety of Halbi in different parts of the Bastar district.

(b) Use of this variety by the AIR, Jagadalpur and in the published materials.

(c) The largest number of the Halbas who speak Halbi as MT come from this district and use this variety.

4) Halbi serves as the link language in many parts of the Bastar district both at the inter- and intra-tribal level and also between different tribes on the one hand and non-tribes on the other.

5) The different ethnic groups consider their respective tribal languages (including Halbi) as not developed enough to meet the requirements of Administration, Education and Judiciary.

6) Tribal groups of the Bastar district have a social hierarchy.

7) Tribes in Bastar consider Hindi as the prestige language.

8) Non-tribals consider the knowledge of Halbi essential to work in the Bastar district.

Scope for Further Study

1) From the pilot survey data, it is noticed that Halbi and Bhattri share many common features. It is necessary to undertake a more detailed comparative study of these languages. If such a study reveals that a large number of features are shared, it would enable to formulate a single standardized form for both the languages which in its turn may be used in education.

2) Certain features of Oriya, Marathi and Chhattisgarhi are found in Halbi. It would therefore be necessary to know how far Halbi is related to Chhattisgarhi, Oriya and Marathi.

3) A sociolinguistic study including a detailed description of the major variety, viz., (Jagadalpur variety) with the brief statements of the variations found across tribes is required to be undertaken (Kaushikar's study is not based on Jagadalpur variety of Halbi).

4) A standardized grammar of Halbi has to be prepared from the pedagogical point of view.

5) Based on the standardized grammar, suitable teaching materials in Halbi have to be prepared both for mother tongue and second language teaching purposes. The books so prepared can also take into account the major regional variations.

6) Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh conducts the training programme in different tribal languages through its various re-orientation training centres. Government of Madhya Pradesh have appointed language teachers for this purpose in re-orientation training centres. Bastar district has one re-orientation training centre at Bastar itself where Halbi and Madiya languages are taught. Teaching is done there in a

traditional way. They do not have proper teaching materials. Central Institute of Indian Languages can coordinate with the State Government of Madhya Pradesh in teaching Halbi and to prepare suitable materials in Halbi.

7) Halbi is also spoken in Maharashtra and Orissa apart from Madhya Pradesh. It is necessary to study the extent of variation across regions and tribes to know the structure of Halbi.

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NOTES

1. Unpublished report of the Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh on District Bastar for the year 1978-79, Jagadalpur, Bastar, M.P.

2. Please refer to Appendix-1 for details of tribes speaking Halbi as first and second languages.

3. Please see Appendix-2 for particulars of the work done on Halbi.

4. Singh's samples are from Chotedonger within the Abuj Madia area predominated by Madiyas and from Narayanpur village inhabited by Halbas and Gonds.

5. Chitra Kaushikar had also selected a variety of Halbi spoken in Chotedongar (125 Kms. of the North-West of Jagadalpur and Sonapal in Narayanpur tehsil. The population of Sonapal was of mainly Gonds.

6. Number in the bracket against each tribal name indicates the number of informants in each linguistic group.

7. Almost all Muriyas have switched over to Halbi as mother tongue. Some of the Muriyas have also adopted Hindi as their mother tongue.

8. Madiya speaking Halbi as mother tongue could not be collected.

9. Dhurwa, Madiya, Muriya are sub-tribes of Gond as stated earlier (Introduction : Bastar District).

10. a) Phonemes as set up by Chitra Kaushikar and R. A. Singh are given in Appendix-3.

    b) For pattern congruity, the alveolar phonemes are placed in the slot of dentals and post-velar fricative in the slot of velar.

    c) In this study t^h, $ṭ^h$, j^h, m^h, n^h, l^h are not found, but they are phonemes in Kushikar's analysis.

    d) Comparative chart of the phonemes of the Halbi language across tribes is given in Appendix-4.

    e) Comparative chart of the phonemes of Halbi and Bhattri is given in Appendix-5.

11. Please refer to Appendix-6 for variations in the grammatical level across different ethnic groups.

12. Data are not available for ordinals beyond the number three.

13. The examples of number with the nouns are not available in the data collected for this study from Halbi MT speakers. It was available in the speech of the other Halbi speakers as well as in the data of Kaushikar.

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Appendix 1

Tribes Speaking Halbi as Mother Tongue and as Second Language Based on the 1961 Census

(a) Tribes Speaking Halbi as Mother Tongue

Sl. No.	Name of the tribe		Male	Female	Total
1.	Andh	...	1	--	1
2.	Bharia-Bhumia-Bhuinhar-Bhumia including Pando	...	48	61	109
3.	Bhattra	...	10,962	10,720	21,682
4.	Bhil	...	7	--	7
5.	Dhanwar	...	1	--	1
6.	Gadaba	...	6	2	8
7.	Gond	...	54,525	54,573	1,09,098
8.	Halba	...	13,676	13,499	27,175
9.	Kamar	...	20	21	41
10.	Kawar	...	6	1	7
11.	Korwa including Kodaku	...	137	149	286
12.	Munda	...	38	38	76
13.	Nihal	...	4	--	4
14.	Oraon including Dhankar Dhangad	...	43	38	81
15.	Pardhan, Patharia, Saroti	...	33	35	68
16.	Pardhi including Bahelia, etc.	...	717	702	1,419
17.	Parja	...	24	24	48
18.	Sawara	...	52	53	105
19.	Unclassified	...	68	16	84
			80,368	79,932	1,60.300

(b) Halbi Spoken as Second Language by the Other Language Speakers (1961 Census)

Sl. No.	District	Name of the language	Halbi spoken by Male	Halbi spoken by Female	Total
1.	Bastar	Bengali ...	--	1	1
2.	"	Bhattri ...	1,337	1,887	3,224
3.	"	Chandari ...	13	30	43
4.	"	Chhattisgarhi ...	2,118	1,692	3,810
5.	"	Dhurwa ...	5,839	6,375	12,214
6.	"	Dorli ...	49	56	105
7.	"	Gondi ...	37,439	30,212	67,651
8.	"	Govari ...	1	--	1
9.	"	Gujarati ...	3	--	3
10.	"	Hindi ...	1,894	1,467	3,361
11.	"	Mahari ...	5	5	10
12.	"	Marathi ...	114	171	285
13.	"	Mariya ...	2,609	2,679	5,288
14.	"	Marwari ...	91	97	188
15.	"	Mirgani ...	10	36	46
16.	"	Muriya ...	158	132	290
17.	"	Nahari ...	1	4	5
18.	"	Oriya ...	521	815	1,336
19.	"	Panki ...	50	51	101
20.	"	Parji ...	13	13	26
21.	"	Punjabi ...	2	1	3
22.	"	Telugu ...	277	169	446
			52,544	45,893	98,437

Appendix 2

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Appendix 3

Phonemes of Halbi Established by Dr. Chitra Kaushikar and Dr. R. A. Singh

(A) Phonemes of Halbi Set-up by Dr. Chitra Kaushikar

1) Non-syllabic non-vocoids (Consonants)
2) Non-syllabic vocoids (Semi-vowels)
3) Syllabic vocoids (Vowels)

Consonants:

Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Lamino palatal	Velar
p	t		ṭ	c	k
p^h	t^h		ṭ^h	c^h	k^h
b	d		ḍ	j	g
b^h	d^h		ḍ^h	j^h	g^h
m	n				ṅ
m^h	n^h				
		s			
		l			
		l^h			
		r			
		r^h			

Semi-vowels:

Voiced back rounded vocoid : V
Voiced front unrounded vocoid : Y
Voiced vocoid with local glottal friction : h

Vowels:

		Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
High	...	i	–	u
High mid	...	e	–	o
Low mid	...	–	ə	–
Low	...	–	a	–

Supra-segmentals

1) Co-articulation
2) /~/ Nasalization accompanies vowels.
3) Halbi has intonation which is not considered in this study.
4) Of the juncture, only word juncture is identified and symbolized by space.

(B) Phonemes of Halbi set up by Dr. R. A. Singh

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, I	–	u, U
Higher mid	ɔ̈	ə	o
Lower mid	e	–	(ɔ̃) in (Bastar)
Low	–	ə̃	–

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Al-veolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Stops								
Unvoiced:								
Non-aspirate	p	–	t	–	ṭ	c	k	–
Aspirate	p^h	–	t^h	–	$ṭ^h$	c^h	k^h	–

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Voiced:								
Non-aspirate	b	–	d	–	ḍ	j	g	–
Aspirate	b^h	–	$ḍ^h$	–	$ḍ^h$	j^h	g^h	–
Nasals	m	–	n	–	–	–	(ṅ)	–
Lateral	–	–	–	l	–	–	–	–
Flap	–	–	–	r	–	–	–	–
Fricatives								
Unvoiced	–	–	s	–	–	–	–	h
Voiced	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Semi-vowels	–	v	–	–	–	y	–	–

Appendix 5

Gives the Comparison of Halbi Phonemes with Bhattri Spoken by Bhattras as Mother Tongue

Halbi phoneme	Halbi spoken by the Halba as mother tongue			Bhattri spoken by the Bhattra as mother tongue		
	Initial	Medial	Final	Initial	Medial	Final
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
p	p	p	p	p	p	p
p^h	p^h	p^h	x	p^h	p^h	p^h
b	b	b	b	b	b	x
b^h	b^h	x	x	b^h	x	x
m	m	m	m	m	m	m
t	t	t	t	t	t	t
d	d	d	d	d	d	x
d^h	d^h	d^h	x	x	x	x
n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ
ḍ^h	ḍ^h	x	x	x	x	x
ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	x	x	ṇ	x
c	c	c	c	c	c	c
c^h	c^h	c^h	c^h	c^h	c^h	c^h
j	j	j	j	j	j	x
k	k	k	k	k	k	k
k^h	k^h	k^h	x	x	x	x
g	g	g	g	g	g	g

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g^h	g^h	x	x	x	x	x
y	x	y	y	x	y	y
s	s	s	s	s	s	ṣ ~ s
h	h	h	x	x	h	h
v	x	v	x	v	v	v
l	l	l	l	l	l	l
ḷ	x	ḷ	x	x	x	x
r	r	r	r	r	r	r
r^h	x	r^h	x	x	x	x
ṛ	x	ṛ	ṛ	x	ṛ	ṛ
w	x	w	x	x	x	x
y	x	y	y	x	y	y
i	x	i	i	i	i	i
u	u	u	u	u	u	u
e	e	e	e	e	e	e
o	o	o	o	o	o	o
ə	ə	ə	x	x	ə	ə
a	a	a	a	a	a	a

Appendix 6

Gives the Comparative Chart of the Grammatical Features and Forms of Halbi Language Across Tribes

Grammatical form	Halbi (MT)	Bhattra (SL)	Chattis-garhi(SL)	Dhakar (MT)	Dhurwa (MT)	Dhurwa (SL)	Gond (MT)	Gond (SL)	Madia (SL)	Muriya (MT)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
A) 1. Pronoun (Personal Pronoun)										
1) I per. sg.	məy	məy	məy	məy	məy	məy	məy	məy	məy	məy
2) I per. pl.	hami	ami	hami	hami	ami	ami	ami	ami	ami	ami
3) II per. sg.	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy	tuy
4) II per. pl.	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi	tumi
5) III per. (mas.) sg.	hun	hun	hun	hun	un	un	un	hun	un	hun
6) III per. (mas.) pl.	hunmən	hunmən	hunmən	hunmən	unmən	unmən	unmən	hunmən	unmən	hunmən
2. Demonstrative Pronoun										
7) Proximate (sg.)	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
8) Proximate (pl.)	emən	emən	emən	emən	emən	emən	emən	emən	emah	emən
9) Remote (sg.)	o	o hun	o hun	o hun	o un	o un	o un	o hun	o un	o hun
10) Remote (pl.)	omən	hunmən, omən	hunmən, omən	hunmən, omən	hunmən, o mən	hunmən, o mən	hunmən, o mən	hunmən, o mən	hunmən, o mən	humən, o mən
11) Interrogative pronouns: What	kay	kay, ka	kay	kay	kay	kay	kay	kay	kay, ka	kay
12) Who or Whose	kon, kaco	kon, kaco, kahar	kon, kaco	kon, kaco	kon, kaco	kon, kaco	kon, kaco	kon, koco, kaco	kon, koco, kaco	kon, kaco
13) Where	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha	kəha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
14) Indefinite pronoun 'someone'	koni	koni	koni	koni	koni	koni	koni	koni	koni	koni
B) Number										
Plural marker	mən	mən	mən	mən	mən	mən	mən	mən	mən	mən
C) a) Dative	-Ø, ke, ka:je,	ke, ka:je, -Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø	ke, ka:je, Ø
b) Sociative	səṅg	səṅg	səṅg	səṅg	səṅge	səṅge	səṅge	səṅg	səṅge	səṅge
c) Locative	-ne, -e	e	upari							
D) Tense										
1) Present tense	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
2) Past tense	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
3) Future tense	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
E) Imperative	a, v, Ø	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v	Ø, a, v
F) Optative	S	S	S	a:S	S	a:S	S	S	S	S
G) Negative	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no	ni, no
H) Conditional	to	to, agər	to	to	to, agər	to	to, bəle	to, agər	to	to, ne

Appendix 7

Gives the Comparative Chart of the Grammatical Feature Forms of Halbi and Bhattri

Grammatical form	Halbi	Bhattri
A) Pronoun		
1. Personal Pronoun		
1) First person singular	məy	məy
2) First person plural	hami	hami
3) Second person singular	tuy	tuy, toːr
4) Second person plural	tumi	tum
5) Third person masculine singular	hun	un
6) Third person masculine plural	hunmən	unmən
2. Demonstrative Pronoun		
1) Proximate (singular)	e	e
2) Proximate (plural)	emən	emən
3) Remote (singular)	o	omən
4) Remote (plural)	omən, hunmən	unmən
3. Interrogative Pronoun		
1) What	kay	kay
2) Who or whose	kon, kaco	kon (who)
3) Where	kəha	kəha
4. Indefinite Pronoun		
Someone	koni	koni
5. Reflexive Pronoun	aplo	apən
6. Relative Pronoun	je	je
B) Number		
Plural marker	mən	mən

Grammatical form	Halbi	Bhattri
C) Case		
1) Nominative	Unmarked	Unmarked
2) Accusative	k, 0	ke, 0
3) Dative	ke, ka:je, 0	ka:je, –ur
4) Sociative	səṅg	səṅg
5) Ablative	se, le	se
6) Genitive	co	r
7) Locative	ne, e	me, e
D) Tense		
1) Present tense marker	s	s
2) Past tense marker	l	li
3) Future tense marker	d	d^h
E) Imperative marker	0	0
F) Optative marker	s	l
G) Causative marker	a	a
H) Negative marker	ni, no	ni, no
I) Conditional marker	to	to

SADARI OF MADHYA PRADESH, BIHAR AND WEST BENGAL

Rekha Sharma
Sam Mohan Lal

SADARI OF M.P., BIHAR AND W.B.

I. INTRODUCTION

Sadari is spoken over a vast area stretching from the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh to Twentyfour Parganas in West Bengal and the tea Gardens of Jalpaiguri to the borders of Orissa. It is known by many names, such as Gawari, Sadari, Nagpuria, Nagpuri, Nagpuria Hindi, etc. It is used by a large section of tribal as well as non-tribal population either as a mother tongue or as a second language.

There are different views regarding the origin and status of Sadari. According to the Encyclopaedia Mundarica, Sadari is the language of Sadans and "Sadan means Hindu or Mohamedan, especially a zamindar, trader, etc., long domiciled in the country on the Ranchi Plateau". It further states "... Sadari is also spoken by a great number of Hinduized aborigines and by all the Naguri aborigines (Naguri is the poetical name of the Mundas)" (Rev. John Hoffmann, S. J., p.3739). Nawrangi (1956) considers Sadans as Aryans as well as semi-Aryans belonging mainly to the lower class of the society.

Grierson (1903) has treated Sadari as "a corrupt form of Bhojpuri which was the language of the Aryans in parts of palamau and Ranchi districts of Bihar ... It has undergone modifications partly by the influence of the Magahi dialect which surrounds it on three sides and of the Chhattisgarhi spoken to its west and partly owing to the influx of words into its vocabulary which belong to the languages of the non-Aryan population". As far as the meaning of the word Sadari is concerned, Grierson says, "the word Sadari in this part of the country is applied to the language of the settled, as distinct from the unsettled population" (p.277).

Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1926) while classifying Magadhan speeches, grouped Sadari with Bhojpuri under western Magadhan (p.92).

Uday Narayan Tiwari agrees with Grierson in this regard. But recently few scholars have tried to prove that Sadari is an independent language. And it should not be classified with Bhojpuri. According to them it is a dialect of Bihari as are Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri.

Historical Perspectives

Sadari, as mentioned above, was basically a non-tribal language and was relatively less important in terms of the numerical strength of its speakers. Members of different tribal communities hardly evinced any interest in its use and only a few identified themselves with it. However, the compulsions of change and development and the tribal awakening seem to have resulted in a great shift in language identities and attitudes in favour of Sadari and an increasing use of Sadari as mother tongue or subsidiary language for inter-tribal/inter-group communication. In Bihar, for instance, according to the Census (1911), only 17 persons reported Sadari as their mother tongue -- their number rising to just 56 in 1951. But by the year 1961, their number suddenly increased to 3,65,772, an increase of 6,53,028 per cent. Only a large scale shift in identities and attitudes in favour of Sadari can account for this phenomenal increase. Such a fantastic shift in language identities and language loyalties is made possible partly because of the high degree of mutual intelligibility of the languages spoken in the area under consideration. Thus, this great shift in favour of Sadari should be viewed in the context of this linguistically fluid area and the reorganization of states on the basis of language.

Present Distribution

According to the 1961 Census, there are in India more than 6.9 lakh people speaking Sadari either as a mother tongue or a subsidiary language, distributed mainly in the states of Bihar (70.83%), West Bengal (13.67%) and Madhya Pradesh (12.27%). Of these nearly 5.3 lakh people or 77.07% of the total number of Sadari speakers are reported to be speaking it as a mother tongue and nearly 1.6 lakh as a subisidary language. Of the 6.9 lakh speakers of Sadari in the country, 3.9 lakh or more than half (53.34%) of them are from the tribal communities, the rest belonging to the non-tribal communities. The proportion of the tribal population speaking Sadari to the total number of Sadari speakers is as high as 63.36% in Madhya Pradesh followed by 62.79% in Bihar and 29.90% in West Bengal. It is significant from the point of view of inter-tribal/inter-group communication and the spread of Sadari as the regional lingua franca to note that of the 3.9 lakh speakers of Sadari from amongst the tribal communities as many a 1.4 lakh (36.53) speak it as a subsidiary language. The proportion of the members of different tribal communities speaking Sadari as a subsidiary language is a high as 44.91% in Madhya Pradesh and 36.97% in Bihar. In West Bengal, they constitute 15.77% of the total number of Sadari speakers from amongst the scheduled tribes. The following Table shows the distribution of people speaking Sadari either as mother tongue or as subsidiary language and the proportion of tribal population speaking Sadari either as mother tongue or subsidiary language in the states and union territories.

Table 1 : Distribution of Sadari Speakers (Census of India, 1961)

States/Union Territories	Total population			Tribal population		
	No. of Sadari speakers			No. of Sadari speakers		
	Total	as MT	as OT	Total	as MT	as OT
India	691,272	532,733 77.07%	158,539 22.93%	389,442 56.34%	247,192 63.47%	142,250 36.53%
Bihar	489,613 70.83%	365,752 74.70%	123,861 25.30%	307,442 62.79%	193,783 63.03%	113,659 36.97%
West Bengal	94,501 13.67%	88,700 93.86%	5,801 6.14%	28,258 29.90%	23,802 84.23%	4,456 15.77%
Madhya Pradesh	84,817 12.27%	56,150 66.20%	28,667 33.80%	53,742 63.36%	29,607 55.09%	24,135 44.91%
Assam	20,468 2.96%	20,468 100%	--	--	--	--
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,868 0.27%	1,658 88.76%	210 11.24%	--	--	--
NEFA	4	4	--	--	--	--
Maharashtra	1	1	--	--	--	--

The tribes who speak Sadari either as mother tongue or as subsidiary language, belong to different ethnic groups, such as Asur, Bedia, Bhuiya, Bhumihar, Bhumij, Birijia, Chikbaraik, Khariya, Kherwar, Kisan, Korwa, Mahili, Munda, Nageshia, Nagwanshi, Oraon, etc. Many of them have their own tribal languages, which belong to different language families, such as Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, etc.

Besides the tribal languages Panch Pargania was also claimed by few tribals as their mother tongue as well as the regional lingua franca in some areas of Ranchi district. Similarly in Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh, Lariya was reported the language of inter-tribal communication as well as the mother tongue by some of the informants. One sample from each of the languages was collected. The Lariya sample was collected from Raigarh proper from a member of the Sawara community, who spoke Lariya as MT. This sample was further checked from another Lariya speaker.

Grierson has consdiered Panch Pargania as a variety of Eastern Magahi spoken in 'Five Parganas', but he was not very sure whether to classify Panch Pargania with Magahi or with Nagpuria - "This dialect is classed as a form of Magahi, but it varies so greatly in the mouths of different people, that it might sometimes be classed as a form, not of Magahi, but of Nagpuria Bhojpuri" (Grierson, 1903).

Our data show that Panch Pargania and Lariya are very close to Sadari at phonological as well as grammatical levels.

Identities and Attitudes

The complex social (including language) identities and attitudes of the tribal population of the area are characterized by a dichotomy between ethnic identity and linguistic identity and an equilibrium between compulsions of change and maintenance. The grass-root multilingual, multi-ethnic set up of the tribals and the general tribal awakening coupled with the compulsions of socio-economic change have necessitated the adoption of a lingua franca, namely Sadari for inter-tribal/inter-group communication and unification of different ethnic and linguistic groups. Many of the tribal communities especially the immigrants, have lost their ancestral languages owing to the extremely restricted use of their ancestral languages in different domains and have gradually switched over to Sadari, a non-tribal language, which in the initial stages, served only as a link language. But these tribal communities have chosen to retain their ethnic identities as is evidenced by the use of the titles, such as Munda, Bedia, Baraik, etc., which are suffixed to their personal names. Thus, ethnicity as an identity marker seems to be much more stronger among most of the tribes than their language identities. However, their language identities at the same time are not so feeble or footloose as to either identify themselves with the regional language speakers or adopt the regional languages as their lingua franca. But many of the tribal population do possess a working knowledge of the dominant languages of the area. Thus, the tribal communities in their wisdom seem to have struck a balance between forces of change and assimilation on the one hand and forces of maintenance on the other by identifying themselves with Sadari and adopting Sadari rather than the language of the dominant groups of the region as the regional lingua franca. The non-dominant character of Sadari by its very nature, seems to have had an advantage over any of the tribal languages for purposes of identification and inter-group communication, for by its adoption as a common identity marker or as a lingua franca no one particular tribe was to be favoured. However, owing to its increasing use in more and more domains and the concomitant decrease in the use of the ancestral tribal languages, Sadari has become the mother tongue of several tribes. The increase in the number of Sadari speakers may also be due to the instrumental attitude developed by many of the non-Sadari speakers in the lower social hierarchy towards Sadari as it started gaining social prestige. Thus, many of the Oraons who used to speak Kurukh as their mother tongue have started identifying themselves with Sadari speakers and many who have totally lost their ancestral language in turn have adopted Sadari as their mother tongue. The same is true with many other ethnic groups also. The attitude of even the formally educated tribal population towards the dominant regional language and Sadari is not different from that of the illiterate tribal people. The educated amongst tribal population advocates the use of Sadari as the medium of instruction at different levels of education. It is also observed that Sadari is being used by the teachers unofficially for purposes of clarification and explanation in classroom situations. It is introduced in the curriculum of Ranchi University. In addition, many literary clubs are conducting research on/in Sadari and are publishing materials on Sadari.

Methodology

The data, including linguistic as well as social information were collected in two ways:

1) Direct Interview

The information regarding the attitudes of tribal and non-tribal communities towards Sadari and the other dominant languages of the area, the attitudes of tribal communities towards non-tribal people, the social hierarchy among the tribal communities, the communication pattern within a tribe and across the tribe, etc., were collected during the informal discussions with the people concerned.

2) The Linguistic Questionnaire and the Recording

The linguistic questionnaire consists of 200 vocabulary items and 60 sentences, besides the other details, such as the name, age, sex, educational qualification and mother tongue of the informant, the area he belongs to, duration of his present domicile, the language/dialect other than the mother tongue known to him, the language used for trade and inter/intra-group communication, etc. The above information along with one narration and folk songs were recorded on the tapes. These samples include both mother tongue and second language data. In most of the places the full sample was collected only from two or three informants from each tribe and it was further checked with the other members of the same tribe (the differences in their responses, if any, were noted). The tribes covered during the field work were: Asur, Bedia, Bhuiya, Bhumihar, Bhumij, Birjia, Chickbaraik, Kharia, Kherwar, Kisan, Korwa, Mahili, Munda, Nageshia, Nagwanshi and Oraon. The samples from Ranchi were drawn from many tribes while those from the other districts represented a fewer number of tribes as the number of Sadari knowing tribes itself was less in these districts. Few examples of the dominant languages of the area, such as Bengali, Hindi, Chhattisgarhi, Oriya, etc., were also collected from the members of those tribes who claimed these languages as their mother tongue. But on checking the linguistic data it is understood that though they claim to speak the above mentioned languages as their mother tongue, they are nothing but the variety of Sadari spoken by the other Sadari speaking tribal communities.

Subjects

Selection of the informants was made by keeping in mind the following criteria:

1) Age: Informants were selected from different age groups ranging from 15 to 60 years.
2) Education: The informants selected for the survey had different educational backgrounds. Some of them had little formal education while other few had education upto post-graduation and few had no formal education.
3) Sex: The data were collected mainly from male informants as the female informants were not readily available.
4) Subjects were selected from rural as well as urban areas.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data covers:

1) The phonological and the grammatical features of Sadari.
2) The regional and ethnic variations in Sadari.

The variety of Sadari spoken in Ranchi and the nearby areas was taken as reference point for phonological and grammatical analysis as well as for the purpose of comparison with the varieties spoken in other areas for the following reasons:

1) The variant forms of Sadari are identified with reference to the variety spoken in Ranchi as Sadari has for a long time been associated with Ranchi.
2) The number of tribes speaking Sadari is comparatively more in this area.

Data were tabulated separately to find out the regional and ethnic variations. Also separate analysis was done on the basis of second language and mother tongue speakers in order to find out the variations between the mother tongue samples and the second language samples.

II. PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF SADARI

1. Vowels

There are in total five single short vowel phonemes in Sadari which consists of /i, e,a,o, u/. The quality of low back unrounded vowel a is always slightly centralised and nearer to mid central unrounded vowel ə. Since a is posited as a phoneme and length as a supra-segmental phoneme, in the text uniformly the symbol adopted is a, except in certain places narrow transcription is adopted to show variation where the symbol adopted is ə.

Supra-segmental Phonemes

Length and nasalization are being treated as the supra-segmental phonemes in this variety of Sadari. Length is noticed in all the five vowel phonemes, viz., /i, e, a, o, u/.

In addition to the vowels, two diphthongs, viz., /au/ and /ai/ are identified.

2. Consonants

The following chart gives the description of consonants in Sadari.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p p^h	t t^h		ṭ $ṭ^h$		k k^h	
	b b^h	d d^h		ḍ $ḍ^h$		g g^h	
Affricates					c c^h		
					j j^h		
Nasals	m m^h		n n^h				
Laterals			l l^h				
Rolled			r				
Flaps				ṛ $ṛ^h$			
Fricatives			s				h
Semi-vowels	w				y		

Vowels

/i/	imli	'tamarind'
	k^hiṛki	'window'
/i:/	i:	'this'
	ti:r	'arrow'
	aji:	'grand-mother'
/e/	ega:ro	'eleven'
	c^hegəri	'goat'

/e:/	e:k	'one'
	me:la	'fair'
/a/	p^{h}ar	'fruit'
	jar	'fever'
/a:/	a:ge	'before'
	sã:p	'snake'
	sa:ra	'brother-in-law'
/o/	oke	'to him'
	lohra	'blacksmith'
/o:/	o:ṭ^h	'lip'
	go:ṛ	'leg'
/u/	ud^{h}ra	'loan'
	kukur	'dog'
	garu ga:ṛi	'bullock cart'
/u:/	u:	'he'
	mu:ṛ	'head'

Diphthongs

/au/	maud	'honey'
/ai/	bail	'bull'

Consonants

All the plosives show two-way opposition in voicing and another two-way opposition in aspiration. Given below are the examples of the consonants in different positions.

/p, t, c, k/

paha:ṛ	'hill'
ti:r	'arrow'

ca:yər	'four'
ka:n	'ear'

/b, d, j, g/

ba:p	'father'
du:ra	'door'
jar	'fever'
ga:y	'cow'

/ṭ, ḍ/

ṭopi	'cap'
ḍauka	'husband'

/pʰ, tʰ, cʰ, kʰ/

pʰar	'fruit'
tʰor	'little'
cʰõṛa	'boy'
kʰäkʰra	'crab'

/bʰ, dʰ, jʰ, gʰ/

bʰa:t	'cooked rice'
dʰoti	'dhoti'
jʰõpəṛi	'hut'
gʰar	'house'

/ṭʰ, ḍʰ/

ṭʰo	'augmented form'
ḍʰol	'drum'

/m, n/

ma:s	'meat'
na:k	'nose'

/m^h, n^h/		
	ba:m^{h}an	'priest'
	jin^{h}or	'maize'
/r, l/		
	rã:d^{h}ek	'to cook'
	lohra	'blacksmith'
/l^h/		
	dul^{h}a	'bridegroom'
/ṛ/		
	ã:ṛa	'egg'
/ṛ^h/		
	da:ṛ^{h}i	'beard'
/s, h/		
	sa:t	'seven'
	ha:t^{h}i	'elephant'
/w, y/		
	sawga:n	'teak'
	ye	'this'

Nasalization

Nasalized vowels are common in Sadari. Almost all the vowels are nasalized. This feature is comparatively more in the variety spoken in Raigarh proper.

/ĩ:/	ĩ:ṭa	'brick'
/ẽ:/	g^{h}ẽ:ca	'neck'
/ã/	hãsek	'to laugh'
/ã:/	a:ṛã	'egg'

/õ/	c^{h}õṛa	'boy'
/ũ/	b^{h}ũsṛi	'mosquito'
/ũ:/	mũ:h	'mouth'

- - - -

III. GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF SADARI

The limited nature of the data permits only an identification of the major grammatical categories and their variant forms in different areas rather than a comprehensive full-fledged grammar of Sadari language. The following is a brief sketch of the grammar of Sadari based on the sentences and narrations collected during the survey.

Noun

In Sadari, nouns take gender, number and case markers. Example:

Noun + Case

sã:p ke	'snake (accusative)'
gã:w se	'village (ablative)'

Noun + Number

b^{h}a:i	'brother'
b^{h}a:iman	'brothers'
cirai	'bird'
ciraiman	'birds'

Noun + Gender

beṭa	'son'
beṭi	'daughter'

c^{h}õ:ṛa	'boy'
c^{h}õ:ṛi	'girl'

Noun/Pronoun + Number + Case

u	'he'
uman	'he (pl.) - they'
umankar	'he (pl. + gen.) - their'

There is no example for noun + gender + case or for noun + gender + number in the data.

The nouns in Sadari show short and long forms. Example:

ha:ṛ	ha:ṛa	'bone'
ta:mb	ta:mba	'copper'
bahu	bahuriya	'daughter-in-law'
mu:sa	musuwa	'rat'

The use of both the forms is noticed in the speech of many informants irrespective of their age, sex, region and educational background. This feature is commonly observed in Bhojpuri also.

Pronoun

The pronouns in Sadari show a three-way opposition in person, viz., I, II and III. They are signalled by different lexical items. In addition, the personal pronouns show opposition in number and case. Example:

Person	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	moy, ham	ham, hamareman
II	tõy	(no data)
III	u:, o:	u:man, o:man

The case suffixes are added to the oblique base of the first and second person singular pronouns, whereas the third person singular and plural as well as first person plural pronominal forms take the case marker directly to the primary form. The oblique base of the first person singular and the second person singular is formed by the deletion of the final semi-vowel **y** from the primary form. Example:

moy 'I' > mo
toy 'you' > to
Pronoun + Case --- mor 'I' (possessive)
Pronoun + Number + Case --- uman kar 'they' (possessive)

Sub-classification of the Pronouns

There are different classes of pronouns, such as personal, interrogative, relative, demonstrative and indefinite. The following is the brief description of these classes.

1) Personal Pronouns

(i) First Person

The variety spoken in Ranchi and in its nearby areas shows the use of **moy** and **ham** for the first person singular. Example:

kayil moy/ham phar k^{h}a:lõ
1 2 3 4
'I ate fruit yesterday'
2 4 3 1

hamar ba:p jangal me heke
1 2 3 4 5
'my father is in the forest'
1 2 5 4 3

(ii) Second Person

The data do not have more instances of second person pronoun. In almost all the cases no distinction is made between honorific and non-honorific forms. There are only two instances where the informants have given the second person honorific form **raure.** Example:

toy kayil kahã ja:be
1 2 3 4
'where will you go tomorrow'
3 1 4 2

tor ka: na:m heke
1 2 3 4
'what is your name'
2 4 1 3

(iii) Third Person

-u: or -o: is the form for third person singular in Sadari. Example:

o: mor c^{h}o:ṭ b^{h}a:i a:he
1 2 3 4 5
'he is my younger brother'
1 5 2 3 4

uman mor be:ṭa heke
1 2 3 4
'they are my sons'
1 4 2 3

i: u:kar k^{h}et heke
1 2 3 4
'it is his field'
1 4 2 3

2) Relative Pronoun

The function of the relative pronoun is to connect the relative clause to the principal clause. There are not many examples in the data where relative pronoun is used. Example:

i: ohe a:dmi heke je hama:r paise ke cora:y rahi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'he is the same man who stole my money'
1 4 2 3 5 9-10 6 7

je lu:ga toy kayil ki:n^{h} rahis se bahut sundar rahe
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'the cloth you purchased yesterday, (that) was very
1 2 3 5-6 4 7 10 8
beautiful'
9

3) Interrogative Pronouns

There is distinction between animate and inanimate interrogative pronominal forms in Sadari. Example:

Animitate -ke-

u: ke heke?
1 2 3
'who is he?'
2 3 1

Inanimate -ka-

tor na:m ka; heke?
1 2 3 4
'what is your name?'
3 4 1 2

4) Demonostrative Pronouns

The distinction between proximate and remote is made in the case of demonstrative pronouns. Example:

Proximate :	*Singular*	*Plural*
	i:	i:man
	e:	e:man

i:(e:) mor bail-ga:ṛi heke
1 2 3 4
'it is my bullockcart'
1 4 2 3

iman hama:r bail-ga:ṛi hikey
1 2 3 4
'these are our bullockcarts'
1 4 2 3

Remote :	*Singular*	*Plural*
	o:	o:man
	u:	u:man

u:(o:) umankar kukur heke
1 2 3 4
'that is their dog'
1 4 2 3

5) Indefinite Pronouns

There is only one example of indefinite pronoun in the data. Example:

u: gã:w se ke a:wat he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'someone comes from that village'
4 5 3 1 2

Adjective

In Sadari, like nouns, adjectives also show two forms, viz., short and long. Example:

c^{h}o:ṭ	choṭka	'young or small'
baṛ	baṛka	'big or great'

In the case of short forms, the agreement between adjective and qualified noun in terms of gender is not found. Example:

c^{h}o:ṭ	b^{h}a:i	'younger brother'
c^{h}o:t	bahan	'younger sister'

This distinction in gender is made in the case of long forms, though not consistently. Example:

c^{h}oṭka b^{h}a:i
c^{h}oṭka or c^{h}oṭki bahan

The adjectives in Sadari can function as an attribute to a noun. Example:

c^{h}o:ṭ b^{h}a:i	'younger brother'
baṛ a:dmi	'great man'

and it can occur alone also in equation type of sentences. Example:

e: gach baṛka heke
1 2 3 4
'this tree is big'
1 2 4 3

u: a:dmi garib rahi
1 2 3 4
'that man was poor'
1 2 4 3

The Numerals

a) Cardinals

ek	'one'
dui	'two'
ti:n	'three'
ca:yir	'four'
pã:c	'five'
c^{h}ay	'six'
sa:t	'seven'
a:ṭ^{h}	'eight'
nau	'nine'
das	'ten'
iga:ro/iga:re	'eleven'
unnayis	'nineteen'
bi:s/ek kori	'twenty'

b) Ordinals

pahil/pahila	'first'
du:sar/dusra	'second'
ti:sar/tisara	'third' etc.

c) Multiplicative

ek kori	'twenty'
dui kori	'forty'

ti:n kori	'sixty' etc.

d) By addition

ek kori das	'thirty'
dui kori das	'fifty'
ti:n kori das	'seventy'
ca:yir kori das	'ninety'

Cardinals in Sadari take the numeral classifier ṭho-. Example:

dui ṭho	'two'
ti:n ṭho	'three'

This feature is available in the other languages spoken in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

The Grammatical Categories of of Noun

Gender

Sadari nouns show opposition in gender. In such cases the feminine gender is formed by changing the final -a: of the masculine singular morpheme into -i:. Example:

beṭa	'son'	>	beṭi	'daughter'
cʰõṛa	'boy'	>	cʰõṛi	'girl'

Sometimes the gender of a noun in Sadari is indicated by its agreement with adjective. Example:

cʰoṭka bʰai	'younger brother'
cʰoṭki bahan	'younger sister'

This phenomenon as mentioned earlier, is not consistent.

Number

In Sadari, plural is formed by the addition of **-man-** or **-san** to the nouns. This feature is found in other Magadhan languages also. Example:

b^ha:i man	'brothers'
u:man	'they'
ciraiman	'birds'

If the noun preceded by some numeral, this suffix is not used, instead of that the non-human numeral classifier -ṭho is used. Example:

dui ṭho kukur	'two dogs'

Case

Case relationships are denoted by the post-positions. In certain cases no overt marker is used.

Nominative: -0-

Sadari does not have any overt marker to denote this particular case relationship. Example:

moy p^har k^ha:le
1 2 3 4
'I ate fruit'
1 3+4 2

Accusative: -ke-, -0-

-ke- moy sa:p ke ma:r sakon
1 2 3 4 5
'I can kill a snake'
1 5 4 2

-0- u b^ha:t k^ha:t heke
1 2 3 4
'he is eating rice'
1 4 3 2

Probably the nouns referring to animate beings take the marker -ke- and the inanimate ones occur without any overt case marker. -ke- also marks the dative, as stated below.

Dative

1) Indirect Object Dative: **-ke-**

ham ra:m se sures ke kaca diva:le
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I caused Ram to give Suresh money'
1 2 6 3 5

2) Intentive Dative: **-le- or -lay-, -lagin-**

hama:r lay pa:ni la:n
1 2 3 4
'bring water for me'
4 3 2 1

ham tor lagin sa:g la:n deto
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I would have brought vegetables for you'
1 5 + 6 4 3 2

-le- or -lay- and -lagin- can be used in the same environment.

Sociative: sange, kar sange

moy gopa:l karsange nai jayik saklo
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I could not go with Gopal'
1 6 4 5 3 2

Genitive: -kar-

kar is used only with nouns, third person pronouns and interrogative pronouns. **Example:**

u kar khet	'his field'
kekar ga:y	'whose cow'

In case of first and second person pronouns (sg.) **-r-** is suffixed to pronominal forms after the deletion of final **-y-**. **Example:**

moy + r	mor	'my (gen.)'
toy + r	tor	'your'

Genitive form of first person plural is formed by adding **-a:r.**

ham + a:r hama:r 'our'

Instrumental: -se-

Example:

mohan g^{h}oṛa ke ca:buk se ma:rlak
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Mohan beat the horse with the whip'
1 6 2 5 4

Case marker -se- is used in causative type of constructions also. Example:

moy si:ta se mor beṭa: ke b^{h}a:t k^{h}iya:l
'I caused Sita to feed my son'

Ablative: -se-

It expresses the sense of separation in terms of time and space. Example:

Space: u gã:w se ke a:wat he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'someone comes from that village'
4 5 + 6 3 1 2

time: biha:n se bark^{h}a hovat he
1 2 3 4 5
'it has been raining from morning'
3 + 4 + 5 2 1

Locative: -me-

Example:

mor ba:p jaṅgal me a:he
1 2 3 4 5
'my father is in the forest'

ciraiman ga:c^{h} mẽ baiṭ^{h} hẽ
1 2 3 4 5
'birds are sitting on the tree'
1 5 4 3 2

To denote specific temporal location, ke and -e are used as case markers. Example:

agar sã:jh ke bark^{h}a nai holi
1 2 3 4 5 6
'if it does not rain in the evening'
1 4 + 5 + 6 3 2

Some postpositions are used in conjunction with the other postpositions and adverbs in Sadari for denoting the sense of location in terms of place and time. Eample:

kar ni:ce 'under, below'

o:gach kar ni:ce sutela
1 2 3 4
'he sleeps under the tree'
1 4 3 2

kar ba:d 'after'

b^{h}a:t k^{h}a:y kar ba:d
1 2 3 + 4
'after having eaten meal'
4 + 3 2 1

Verb

Verbs in Sadari are capable of showing opposition in tense, modal and aspect, and can take causative markers also.

Verb Structure

la	'bring' root form
la:/la:n	'bring' (imperative)
k^{h}a	'eat' root form
k^{h}iya:lõ	'cause to eat' (I)
k^{h}a:lõ	'ate' (I)
k^{h}a:bõ	'will eat' (I)
k^{h}a:t he	'is eating'
so	'sleep' root form
sutal/sutela	'sleeps or is sleeping' (indicative)

ma:r 'kill' root form!
ma:r sakon 'can kill' (I)

ja 'go' root form
ja:y ni pa:rlõ 'could not go' (I)

kar 'do' root form
karik ni pa:rbɔ̃/sakbõ 'will not be able to do' (I)

The examples illustrated above show that the tense marker occurs immediately after the verb root in the case of intransitive and transitive verbs, whereas in causative construction the tense marker follows the causative marker. Modal or aspect marker precedes the tense marker. The verbs in Sadari are also inflected for the person and number.

kal toy kahã: ja:be
1 2 3 4+tense marker
'where will you go tomorrow?'
3 tense marker 2 4 1

Types of Verbs

1) Transitive and Intransitive

Transitive verbs occur with a direct object whereas intransitive verbs occur without any object but they may take a predicative complement. Example:

Transitive:

moy p^hal k^ha:lõ
1 2 3
'I ate fruits'
1 3 2

o: b^ha:t k^ha:t he
1 2 3 4
'he is eating rice'
1 4 3 2

Intransitive:

u gã:w se ke a:wat he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'some one is coming from that village'
4 6 5 3 1 2

2) Causatives

Causatives in Sadari are formed by adding **-ya-** or **-wa-** to the verb root. The verb root also undergoes some phonological change. Example:

$k^{h}a$	'eat'
k^{h}iya:lɔ̃	'cause to eat' (I)
de	'give'
diwa:lɔ̃	'cause to give' (I)

moy si:ta se apan be:ṭa ke b^{h}a:t k^{h}i:ya:lɔ̃
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'I caused Sita to feed (rice to) my son'
1 3 2 8 6 4 5

moy ra:m se sure:s ke paisa diwa:lɔ̃
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'I caused Ram to give Suresh money'
1 3 2 7 4 6

3) Passive

Passive constructions are not very common in Sadari. Most of the informants preferred to give an active construction for the corresponding passive form. Example:

Active:

ra:m ra:wan ke ma:rlak
1 2 3 4
'Ram killed Rawan'
1 3 2

ra:wan ra:m kejariye/kehathe mara:y gelak
1 2 3 4 5

'Rawan was killed by Ram'
1 4 + 5 3 2

Compound Verbs

i) Nominals:

dekʰe ja:b	'will go to see' (we)
ja:yik cahi	'wants to go'

ii) Verbals:

dedil	'given' (I)
cayib delak	'bit'

Grammatical Categories of Verbs

The grammatical categories available with a verb in Sadari are: Tense, Modal and Aspect. A brief description of these categories follows:

Tense

The tense in Sadari shows a two-way opposition, viz., past and non-past. Example:

moy kʰa:lõ
1 2 + tense
'I ate' (past)
1 2 + tense

ham ja:b
1 2 + tense
'we will go' (non-past)
1 2

Copula Present Tense

There are two types of copula. These are **he** or **ahe** and **hike**. To indicate the existence or the entity of the object **he** or **ahe** is used, **hike** is used elsewhere. Though the distinction is not followed rigidly. According to Grierson **hike** is borrowed from Magahi.

Present and past tense forms of verb 'to be' are given below:

Present	*Singular*	*Plural*
	hike	hikey
	ahe/he	ahẽ/hẽ

Past	*Person number (sg.)*	
	I	raho
	II	rahis
	III	rahe

Aspect

1) Progressive Aspect

The present progressive aspect in Sadari is formed by adding verbal form -at to the root. Exampale:

u: k^ha:t he
1 2 3
'he is eating'
1 3 2

u:man kama:t hẽ
1 2 3
'they are working'
1 3 2

2) Habitual Aspect

Generally no distiction between progressive and habitual aspects is made by the informants.

o: gac^h kar ni:ce sutat he
1 2 3 4 5
'he sleeps under the tree'
1 4 3 2

or

'he is sleeping under the tree'

There is another form of habitual aspect available, viz.,

o: gach kar ni:ce sutal/sutela.

Modal

1) Indicative Modal

It indicates the simple statements about the facts. Example:

ciraiman gach mẽ baiṭ^h hẽ
1 2 3 4 5
'the birds are sitting on the tree'
1 5 4 3 2

2) Imperative Modal

It includes a command, a request or an instruction. In Sadari imperative modal is expressed in the following ways.

i) Without any marker to the verb root:

apan g^{h}ar ja
1 2 3
'go to your house'
3 1 2

ii) With marker:

mor lagin t^{h}oṛa piyak pa:ni la:n
1 2 3 4 5 6
'bring some drinking water for me'
6 3 4 5 2 1

3) Potential Modal

It indicates the ability or capability of the person to perform the action. Sadari has two verbal forms for it, viz., **sak** and **pa:r**. Example:

moy sa:p ke ma:r sakon
1 2 3 4 5
'I can kill a snake'
1 5 4 2

moy kayil ka:m ni karik pa:rbõ
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I will not be able to work tomorrow'
1 4 + modal 3 2

4) Permissive Modal

The permissive modal indicates the permission given to a person to do a specified act. It is formed by the principal verb occurring in its infinitive form followed by the auxiliary verb, viz., -de. Example:

oke jayik de
1 2 3
'let him go'
3 1 2

Adverb

The adverb functions as an attribute to a verb. There are different classes of adverbs in Sadari, such as adverbs of time, adverbs of location and adverbs of manner. Structurally there are only two types, viz., primary ones and secondary ones. The latter are based on noun and other adverbs. Example:

1) Adverb of Time

Adverb of time can be based on nouns as well as on other adverbs.

i) Based on noun:

bar 'entire time'

sã:j^h bar pa:ni ni a:li
1 2 3 4 5
'it did not rain in the evening (entire time)'
4 3+5 1 2

ii) Based on other adverbs:

a:ge	'before, infront'
kayil	'yesterday or tomorrow'

2) Adverb of Place

pa:r	'across'	cayirõ ba:ṭe	'around'
kha:le	'down/below'	upre	'up/upward'

3) Adverb of Manner

jʰaṭke/jaldi	'quickly'

Intensifiers

The intensifiers are used to intensify or emphasize the meaning of the words with which they occur. Example:

bahut choṭ	'very young'
bahut sundar	'very beautiful'

Syntax

There are three types of sentences in Sadari, viz., simple, complex and compound.

1) Simple Sentences

Simple sentences in Sadari can be grouped into two sub-groups. They are: (i) those having a predicate and (ii) those not having a predicate. Example:

(i) hama:r ṭʰin dui ṭʰo kukur a:he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I have two dogs'
1 2+6 3 5

moy pʰar kʰalõ
1 2 3
'I ate fruit'
1 3 2

Here the nominal word functions as a subject and the verb as a predicate. The subject or the predicate can have different adjuncts. For example, the adjectives or possessives can be the adjuncts to the subject. Examples:

mor ba:p jaṅgal mẽ a:he
1 2 3 4 5
'my father is in the forest'
1 2 5 4 3

moy kal p^{h}ar k^{h}alõ
1 2 3 4
'I ate fruit yesterday'
1 4 3 2

(ii) The sentences that do not have a predicate comprise of two noun phrases, viz., NP_1, NP_2, of which NP_2 may have either a noun or an adjective or both. Example:

i: mor bailga:ṛi heke
1 2 3 4
'it is my bullockcart'
1 4 2 3

e: ga:c^h baṛka a:he
1 2 3 4
'this tree is big'
1 2 4 3

2) Complex Sentences

A complex sentence consists of a principal clause and a subordinate clause/clauses. Example:

je lu:ga toy kayil kinh rahis o bahut sundar rahi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'the cloth which you purchased yesterday was very
2 1 3 5 + 6 4 10 8
beautiful'
9

e ohi a:dmi heke je mor paisa ke coray rahi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'this is the same man who stole my money'
1 4 2 3 5 9+10 6 7

3) Compound Sentences

The compound sentence consists of different independent clauses or members. These members may be two or more simple sentences or one member may a simple sentence and the other complex or there may be any combination of simple and complex sentences. Example:

jadi toy apan gã:w jabe hole moke bhi le jabe
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'if you go to your village, take me also'
1 2 5 3 4 8 6 7

Transformation

The above mentioned sentences are of affirmative type. With the help of the transformational rules, the negatives and interrogatives can be derived from the affirmative sentences.

Negation

The affirmative sentences in Sadari can be negated by placing a negative marker **-nai** before the verb root. There are in all three negative markers in Sadari, namely, **ni**, **nai** and **na** which are mostly region specific. But, there are instances where the use of more than one negative marker is available. It is difficult to say at present whether it has any functional significance or it is the instance of free variation. Example:

neg	u: k^ha:t he	u: nai k^ha:t he
	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
neg	'he is eating'	'he is not eating'
	1 3 2	1 4 2 3

Interrogative

For 'Yes/No' type of questions - the interrogative particle **-ka** is added either in the beginning or in the end of the affirmative sentences. Example:

ka: e: to:r g^{h}ar he?
1 2 3 4 5

or

e: to:r g^{h}ar he ka?

'is it your house?'
5 2 3 4

-wh type of questions are formed by placing the interrogative particles in their proper place. Example:

u: kauṅ heke?
1 2 3
'who is he?'
2 3 1

toy ka: k^{h}a:le
1 2 3 + tense marker
'what did you eat'
2 1 3

- - - -

IV. VARIATIONS

One of the main objectives of the study was to find out spatial and ethnic variation in Sadari. As the language is spoken over a vast area one would expect significant regional variations in the language. But as the different regional languages of the area belong to one family of languages, the regional languages have between them a great number of similarities both at phonological and grammatical levels. As such there are not many significant regional variations found in Sadari also. If there are variations in the regional or dominant languages, they are reflected in Sadari spoken in that area.

Though the area is inhabited by several tribal groups, many of them speaking languages of their own, ethnicity does not seem to have much bearing on the variations found in Sadari. There are no significant evidences of the impact of the tribal languages on Sadari. Social parameters, such as sex, age, education, etc., seem to have little influence on the variations in the language. However, factors such as duration of domicile, contact situations and domains of language use seem to be responsible to a greater extent for the variations in Sadari.

It is rather the combination of these factors than any one single factor with their varying degree of influence that accounts for the variations in Sadari.

The variations are characterized by different proportions of a particular feature rather than their exclusive occurrence. For example, the feature of nasalization has comparatively more occurrence in the variety spoken in Raigarh proper than any other place either in Bihar or in West Bengal. There are, however, certain linguistic features characteristic of specific areas as for example the palatal š found only in 24 paraganas of West Bengal.

In view of these observations as far as variations in language are concerned it is proposed to treat the area where Sadari is spoken in terms of the Main Language Area (MLA) and the Satellite Areas (SA). As mentioned earlier, Sadari area has a core area, comprising parts of Ranchi, Palamau and Raigarh (including Raigarh proper) and perhaps other areas outlying the core area and several satellite areas, such as parts of Jalpaiguri and parts of 24 Parganas in West Bengal. The language of the main area, is characterised by the prevalence of various forms of the expression which can be noticed at phonological, grammatical and lexical levels, whereas in the satellite areas linguistic scene differs from one area to another. The area like Jalpaiguri is characterized by the prevalence of lesser number of forms of the expression. Thus the Sadari in Jalpaiguri is more or less stabilized with consistent recurrence of linguistic forms. In 24 Parganas (another satellite area) Sadari is undergoing a linguistic change. Therefore the variety spoken in this area reflects a greater influence of Bengali due to the continued exposure of the speakers over a longer period of time to Bengali. On the other hand, the Sadari spoken in Jalapaiguri district does not show such influence which perhaps is due to the fact that the Sadari speakers in that district are mostly tea garden workers who hardly come in contact with the speakers of other languages, such as Hindi, Bengali, etc. It is probably a case of isolation in a potentially contact situation.

In the spatially marginal areas, such as the part of Raigarh district, the variety is influenced by Chhattisgarhi, a contact language. In Singhbhum district (another spatially marginal area) the speakers of Sadari are very less. The data on Sadari in this district was collected from informants who were recently migrated from Jashpurnagar, a part of core language area. No significant variation was found in their speech. However, the samples of Oriya collected in Singhbhum (many of the tribals claim Oriya as their mother tongue) show some similarity with Sadari and therefore this needs to be further looked into.

Phonological Variations

In this section, the different phonetic features identified in the Sadari spoken in main land area (hereafter referred to as MLA) are compared with the features of the varieties spoken in the satellite areas (SA) and the spatially marginal areas.

Raigarh Proper (Spatially Marginal Area)

1) Nasalization

Compared to the MLA, nasalization has more occurrence in the variety spoken in Raigarh proper and its nearby areas, such as Pathalgam and Dharmjaigarh. It was also observed that this feature is more consistent and prominent in this area.

2) Replacement of Post Alveolar Flap

Use of post alveolar flap is comparatively very less in this variety. There is a tendency to replace it by alveolar trill /r/.

Example:

paha:ṛ	paha:r	'hill'
baṛ	bar	'banyan tree'

3) /n/, /l/ Alternation

In the words, like **ni:m** 'neem tree', the initial nasal consonant is replaced by alveolar lateral /l/ in the Raigarh variety. Example:

ni:m	li:m

4) Aspiration

Aspirated sounds occur in place of unaspirated ones. Example:

kukari	k^hukari	'hen'
a:ge	a:ghe	'before'

5) l - ṛ

In certain lexical items both /r/ and /l/ have occurred in the variety spoken in MLA while in Raigarh area, only /r/ is noticed. Example:

nariyal	nariyar	'coconut'
pipal	pi:par	'pipal tree'
ke:la	kera	'plantain'
pi:tal	pi:tar	'brass'
sabal	sabar	'crowbar'

6) Roundness

Vowel /a/ occurs with slight roundness in the MLA whereas in this area it is unrounded.

24 Parganas

In 24 parganas, Sadari has undergone many changes due to the influence of Bengali, the dominant language of that area.

1) Nasalization

Nasalization has very less occurrence in this area. Even where it occurred, it is not as prominent as it is observed in Raigarh variety of Sadari.

2) Palatal /š/

Another peculiar feature pertaining to this area is the use of /š/, which is not observed in any other Sadari speaking area. In other areas it is pronounced as alveolar fricative /s/. None of the other languages in Bihar has this particular sound. Example:

sisam	šišo	'rose wood'
sa:p	ša:p	'snake'
su:war	šuwar	'pig'
su:i	šu:i	'needle'

3) Roundness

In many lexical items, vowel /a/ is rounded in nature. Sometimes it is even realized as /o/. Example:

g^{h}ar	g^{h}ɔr/g^{h}or	'house'
p^{h}ar	p^{h}ɔr/p^{h}or	'fruits'
sabar	sabɔl/sabol	'crowbar'
k^{h}argos	k^{h}ɔrgos	'rabbit'
gala	gɔla/gola	'throat'

4) The lexical items which are pronounced with /l/ and /r/ both in MLA, and with /r/ in Raigarh proper, have more occurrence with /l/ in 24 parganas. Example:

kola 'plantain'

sabol	'crowbar'
pitol	'brass'

Jalpaiguri (A – SA)

The variety of Sadari spoken in Japaiguri as mentioned earlier, shows not much of influence of Bengali. This variety is very close to the one which is spoken in MLA. But unlike the Sadari spoken in MLA, this variety shows more stability in the use of various phonological and grammatical features.

Grammatical Variations

Raigarh Proper

Noun

Sadari spoken in this area shows more tendency towards the use of long forms of nouns. Examples:

Raigarh		*MLA*	
ha:ṛa	Vs.	ha:ṛ	'bone'
beṅga	Vs.	be:ṅg	'frog'
bẽ̆dara	Vs.	bã̆:dar	'monkey'
citwa	Vs.	ci:ta	'tiger'
koṛhiya	Vs.	ko:ṛhi	'lazy'

Pronouns

1) The honorific form of second person pronoun, i.e., **raure** is used in this variety. It also shows its agreement with the verb. Example:

agar raure gã̆:v ja:ba to moke b^{h}i lei calba
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'if you go to your village, take me also'
1 2 4 3 8+9 6 7

2) The distinction between the singular and the plural forms

of first person pronoun are clearly made in the Sadari spoken in Raigarh proper.

3) In some cases the use of suffix **-har-** with the singular forms of demonstrative pronoun is noticed. Example:

ehar mor bail ga:ri ay
1 2 3 4
'it is my bullock cart'
1 4 2 3

The suffix is used only with the singular and the base forms of the pronoun.

Cases

1) Accusative

-la- is the case marker in this variety instead of **ke** or **0**, as it is in MLA. Example:

o mor paisa la corayis
1 2 3 4 5
'he stole my money'
1 5 2 3

2) Dative (Intentive)

The case marker is **-k^{h}a:j-**, while in the variety of the MLA, either **lay** or **lagin** is used. Example:

mor k^{h}a:j pa:ni la:in de
1 2 3 4
'bring water for me'
4 3 2 1

3) Ablative

-le is the case marker, instead of **se** as it is noticed in MLA. Example:

u gã:w le konho a:t he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'somebody is coming from that village'
4 6 5 3 1 2

4) Locative

The locative case has three suffixes, viz., **mẽ/upre/e** to denote the case relationship. Example:

mẽ/upre

ga:c^{h} mẽ/upre caraiman bas rahalai he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'birds are sitting on the tree'
3 6 4-5 2 1

hama:r ba:p ban-e ahe
1 2 3 + 4 5
'my father is in the forest'
1 2 5 4 3

The use of **-upre-** is not found at all in the variety spoken in the mainland area.

Adjectives

Adjectives are not inflected for the gender in this variety. Example:

uṭa hama:r c^{h}oṭo b^{h}a:i heke
1 2 3 4 5
'he is my younger brother'
1 5 2 3 4

uṭa ukar c^{h}oṭa bahin heke
1 2 3 4 5
'she is his younger sister'
1 5 2 3 4

Numerals

Cardinal numbers are similar to Bengali numbers. Example:

ek
dui
tin
ca:r
pã:c
choy
noy
das
tiris etc.

Numeral Classifiers

The variety of Sadari spoken in MLA uses **ṭho-** and **ṭa** the numeral classifiers with the cardinal numbers. In the variety of Raigarh proper **goṭh-** is used. Example:

mor ṭ^{h}an dui goṭ^h kukur a:he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I have two dogs'
1 2-6 3 5

mor ṭ^{h}an dui ṭ^{h}o kukur a:he (MLA)
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I have two dogs'

Verb

Following examples indicate the differences in terms of tense markers as well as person markers. Example:

Raigarh Sadari:

ḳayil moy p^{h}ar k^{h}a:ye
1 2 3 4

Mainland Sadari:

kayil moy p^{h}ar k^{h}alõ
1 2 3 4

'I ate fruit yesterday'
2 4 3 1

Modal Potentiality

To denote the sense of potentiality both -par- and -sak are used in the MLA while in Raigarh variety only -sak- is used.

Example:

MLA:

moy sa:p ke ma:r sakõ
1 2 3 4 5

Raigarh:

moy sa:p ke ma:r sakõ
1 2 3 4 5

'I can kill a snake'
1 5 4 2

MLA:

moy ka:m karek ni pa:rlõ
1 2 3 4 5

Raigarh:

moy ka:m karek ni sakõ
1 2 3 4 5

'I could not do the work'
1 5 4 3 2

Verb - 'to be'

The use of **hike**, i.e., the singular form of verb 'to be' in present tense is not found in this variety at all. Instead of that either **he** or **ahe** is used. Example:

Raigarh:

e mor bailga:ṛi he

MLA:

e mor bailga:ṛi heke

24 Parganas (SA)

Noun

No significant variation is found in the case of nouns.

Pronoun

1) The singular form of the first person pronoun is always -**ham** in this variety while the plural form of **ham** is -**hamnisab**- which is not found in any other region.

2) Suffix -ṭa- is used with the demonstrative pronouns. **Example:**

i:ṭa hama:r cʰoṭo bʰa:i hekey
1 2 3 4 5
'he is my younger brother'
1 5 2 3 4

i:ṭa hama:r gorugari hekey
1 2 3 4
'this is my bullockcart'
1 4 2 3

The numeral classifier -ṭa- is also used with numbers. For example:

dui ṭa kukur 'two dogs'

Verbs

The verbal constructions show more variation in the variety of Sadari spoken in 24 parganas. Different informants have given different forms of the expression in the case of tense, aspect or modal markers. Even the number and person markers which are suffixed to the verbal forms to indicate the agreement between the subject and the verb show variations. Example:

1) The present indefinite form of the verb 'to sit' for the third person singular is **baith** in MLA. In 24 Parganas two expressions were noticed. The examples are given below:

MLA:

carai man gach mẽ baiṭh he
1 2 3 4 5

'birds are sitting on the tree'
1 5 4 3 2

24 Parganas:

1) caraiman gac^h me ba:s rahlai hai

2) gac^h upre pa:k^{h}i basal hai

2) For the present progressive aspect also there are two expressions found in this variety. Example:

u: b^{h}a:t k^{h}a:y laga:y
1 2 3 4
'he is eating food'
1 4 3 2

u b^{h}a:t k^{h}a:t he

u: jami:ne ka:j karat hai
1 2 3 4 5
'they are working in the field'
1 5 3 4 2

u jami:ne ka:j kare lagay

3) Past Perfect: Following are the forms used for past perfect in the Sadari of 24 parganas.

I Person (i the person marker)

gatekal ham p^{h}al palkor k^{h}aikun rahi
1 2 3 4 5
'I ate fruits yesterday'
2 1-5 3 1

kal p^{h}ar k^{h}a:ykun hali

II Person (i, e person marker)

kal ke tõy ka k^{h}a:y rahi
1 2 3 4 5 6

'what did you eat yesterday?'
4 3 5 1

kal toy ka: k^hele hole

III Person (-**ai**- the person marker)

u: sahar gelai
1 2 3
'he went to the city'
1 3 2

The forms occurring in MLA as stated earlier are

moy k^halõ	'I ate'
tõy k^halõ	'you ate'
u gelak	'he went'

Future

No distinction is made by most of the informants in the case of first person singular and second person singular forms. Only one informant has given separate forms for the first person singular. In the case of first person plural two expressions are found.

1) hamnisab melay ja:bey
2) hamnisab melay ja:b

'we shall go to the fair'

MLA:

ham mela dekhe ja:b

Modal : Potential

The modal of potentiality is marked by -**sak**- (usually occurring in present tense) and -**par**- (usually occurring in past and future) in MLA. The use of -**sak**- is not found at all in the variety of 24 parganas. Example:

1) hame sa:p ke ma:re pa:ri
'I can kill the snake'] 24 Parganas

MLA:

moy sa:p ke ma:r sakɔ̃

2) hame kal ka:j hei kare pa:rab
'I will not be able to work tomorrow'] 24 Parganas

MLA:

moy kal ká:j karek ni pa:rbõ

3) hame go:pa:l ke šaṅge ja:y nai parlai
I could not go with Gopal'] 24 Parganas

MLA:

moy gopa:l sange ja:y ni pa:rlõ/saklõ

Syntax

The use of copula in indicative sentences is not found in some instances. Example:

i: gac^{h}ṭa: baṛka
1 2 3
'this tree is big'
1 2 3

tor na:ṃ ka?
1 2 3
'what is your name?'
3 1 2

i:ṭa: ka: to:r g^{h}or
1 2 3 4
'is it your house?'

The passive constructions are not found in this variety. The informants preferred to give the active sentences for the passive ones. Example:

ra:m ra:van ke ma:r lai
'Ram killed Ravan'

Lexical Variations

There are not many significant differences in the lexical inventory of Sadari spoken in the MLA or the satellite areas. However, lexical features specific of these areas are listed in the Appendix.

Sadari, Panch Pargania and Lariya

As mentioned earlier, Panch Pargania and Laria are very close to Sadari at different levels, viz., phonological, grammatical and lexical. Some of the prominent features which are not common between Sadari and Panch Pargania and Sadari and Lariya are given below.

Sadari and Panch Pargania

Phonological Differences

The only remarkable difference at phonological level is the use of /o/ in Panch Pargania (PP) instead of unrounded /a/ as is found in Sadari. Though in Sadari also, there is a tendency for rounding this sound, in Panch Pargania it sounds almost like /o/. Example:

Sadari	*Panch Pargania*	
p^har	p^hor	'fruit'
baṛ	boṛ	'banyan tree'
b^hãis	b^hõis	'buffalo'

Grammatical Differences

Noun : Plural marker. Example:

Sadari: man or sab

u:man	'they'
ga:yman	'cows'

Panch Pargania:	gola or gila
u: gola	'they'
ga:y gola	'cows'

Demonstrative Pronoun

Sadari:

i:	'this
u:	'that'

Panch Pargania:

iṭa	'this'
uṭa	'that'

Relative Pronoun

Sadari:	se
Panch Pargania:	seṭa

Cases

Ablative

Ablative case marker is se in Sadari while in Panch Pargania it is le. Example:

Sadari:

u: gã:o se ke avat he
1 2 3 4 5 6

Panch Pargania:

u: gã:o le keu a:t he
1 2 3 4 5 6
'someone is coming from that village'
4 6 5 3 1 2

Intentive Dative

The case marker in Sadari is ley or lagin while in Panch

Pargania it is k^{h}a:tir. Example:

Sadari: mor ley

Panch Pargania: mor k^{h}a:tir
1 2
'for me'
2 1

Verbs (Modal)

Imperative

Sadari: apan g^{h}ar ja

Panch Pargania: apon g^{h}or jahin
1 2 3

'go to your house'
3 1 2

Sadari: jaldi hiyã a:w
1 2 3

Panch Pargania: jaldi hiyã a:n
1 2 3

'come here soon'
3 2 1

Permissive

Sadari: oke jayik de

Panch Pargania: oke jayik dehi
1 2 3

'let him go'
3 1 2

Tense (Past)

Sadari: moy k^{h}a:lõ

Panch Pargania: moy k^{h}a:y rahõ

'I ate'

Sadari: tõy k^{h}a:le

Panch Pargania:	tõy k^ha:y rehis
	'you ate'
Sadari:	o coralak
Panch Pargania:	o coray rahi
	'he stole'

Sadari and Lariya

Phonological Differences

1) Nasalization

This is a very prominent and a regular feature in Lariya.

2) Insertion of Glide

Sadari	*Lariya*	
musa	muswa	'rat'
ci:ta	citwa	'tiger'

3) Use of

(a) lateral for Sadari nasal

ni:m li:m 'neem tree'

(b) h for Sadari y na:riyal --- narihar 'coconut'

(c) r for Sadari l nariyal --- narihar

Grammatical Differences

Pronouns

Addition of suffix **-har** to third person pronoun. **Example:**

ehar	'this'
ohar	'that'

-har is used even with inanimate nouns.

ruk^h har	'tree'
b^hiti har	'wall'

Case

Accusative

In Sadari the accusative case marker is **ke** while in Lariya it is **la**. Example:

Sadari:	moy	sa:p	ke	mar	sakon
	1	2	3	4	5
Lariya:	moy	sa:p	la	mayir	sakon
	1	2	3	4	5

'I	can	kill	the	snake'
1	5	4		2

Dative

The case marker for dative in Sadari is **ke**, while in Lariya it is **la**. Example:

Sadari:	moy	mor	paisa	ke	oke	de dilo
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lariya:	moy	mor	paisa	la	ola	de deyi
	1	2	3	4	5	6

'I	gave	my	money	to	him'
1	6	2	3	6	5

Intentive Dative

The dative case marker in Sadari is **lay** or **lagin**, in Lariya it is **bar**. Example:

Sadari:	mor	lay	piye	ke	pa:ni	la:n
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lariya:	mor	bar	piye	ke	pa:ni	la
	1	2	3	4	5	6

'bring	some	drinking	water	for	me'
6		3 + 4	5	2	1

Ablative

In Sadari, the case marker for ablative is **se**, in Lariya it is **le**. Example:

Sadari: u gã:o se ke a:wat he
1 2 3 4 5 6

Lariya: u gã:o le konhu a:wat he
1 2 3 4 5 6

'someone is coming from that village'
4 6 5 3 1 2

Aux - Verb 'to be'

The use of **-heke** for third person singular form of verb 'to be' in present tense is not found in Lariya, instead of that **-he** is used. Example:

Sadari: e mo:r bailga:ṛi heke
1 2 3 4

Lariya: e har mor bailga:ṛi he
1 2 3 4

'it's my bullock cart'
1 4 2 3

In lariya the past form of verb 'to be' for third person singular is **rahis**, instead of **rahe**, as it is in Sadari. Example:

Sadari: u: garib rahe
1 2 3

Lariya: u: garib rahis
1 2 3

'he was poor'
1 3 2

Tense Marker

Sadari	*Lariya*	
k^{h}alõ	k^{h}a:ye	'I ate'
k^{h}ale	k^{h}ay	'you ate'
ma:rlak	ma:rli:s	'he killed'

Permissive Modal

Sadari: oke ja:yik de

Lariya: ola ja:n de
'let him go'

It would be relevant to mention here that most of these features are found in Chhattisgarhi (MT) sample collected from a Gond in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh.

Conclusion

The pilot survey of Sadari reveals many interesting facts regarding the language and its speakers. The increasing number of Sadari speakers and the wider range of functions it is used for, indicate that the status of Sadari should be reconsidered. A definite and elaborate system of its phonology, grammar and lexicon proves that Sadari is a language in its own right and the regional variation found in Sadari is to be considered as only showing different degrees of influence of the dominant languages in different parts of the region. Presently it is improper to consider Sadari as a corrupt form of some regional language or a mixture of many languages (as Grierson and other scholars have done). Such a change in the view point is warranted not merely from the purely linguistic point of view but also from the socio-cultural point of view. As mentioned in the introduction, Sadari is fast assuming the role of a strong token of identity not only among the tribals but also among the non-tribals of the area.

Sadari seems to provide an excellent case for the study of language identity, contact, convergence, maintenance and language shift, as some of the tribal communities exhibit strong tendency towards the maintenance of the language while some others, especially in the bordering areas of Orissa, West Bengal, etc., show a strong influence of the regional languages. Some tribal communities are giving up their languages in favour of other tribal languages or in favour of regional lingua francae, while some others in favour of Hindi or the dominant language of the region. For example, in Singhbhum district of Bihar many belonging to Santhal, Munda, Bhumij and Lohra communities, have claimed 'Ho' as their mother tongue as well as the language of inter-group communication among the tribals. Even some non-tribal communities who speak Oriya, are using Ho for the purpose of trade and inter-group communication. On the other hand some from the Ho community especially the educated class, claim Hindi as their mother tongue. Many others identify themselves with Oriya by claiming their mother tongue as Oriya, whereas the variety of their speech form is very close to Sadari.

The phenomenon of language loss or language maintenance is very significant in the context of immigrant tribal population also. These immigrant tribals from Chhota Nagpur area to Jalpaiguri have strong tendency towards the maintenance of Sadari, whereas the immigrants to the 24 parganas in West Bengal are gradually shifting to Bengali. However, this needs to be further corroborated by attitudinal surveys.

Another important area of further investigation could pertain to the mutual intelligibility between different languages of the area and Sadari.

Sadari also needs a real linguistic description in terms of its grammar and phonology as there are efforts to introduce it in school curriculum. It has been already introduced as a subject in Ranchi University.

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Appendix

Table 1 : Morphological Variation

	Mainland Sadari	Raigarh proper	Jalpaiguri	24-Parganas
Personal Pronoun				
I Person				
Sg.	moy, ham	moy	moy	ham
Pl.	ham	ham	hamre- -man	hamni -sɔb
II Person				
Sg.	tõy	tõy	tõy	toy
Pl. & Hon.	--	roure	--	--
III Person				
Sg.	u	u-har	u	uṭa
Pl.	u-man -sab	uman	u-mane	u-man
Demonstrative				
Proximate	i:, e	i-har	i:	iṭa
Remote	u:	u:har	o, u:	u:ṭa
Indefinite	ke, keu, koi	kono, kono-har	ke, koi ekʰan	kono
Interrogative				
Animate	ke, kɔn/kaun	kaun	kaun kehar	ke
Inanimate	ka	ka	ka	ka
Possessive				
I Sg.	mor, hama:r	mor	mor	hama:r
I Pl.	hama:r	hamar	hama:r	hama:r
II Sg.	tor	tor	tor	tor
III Sg.	u:kar u-kar	u-kar	u-kar	u-kar
Interrogative	kekar	ke-kar	ke-kar	kekar

	Mainland Sadari	Raigarh proper	Jalpaiguri	24-Parganas
Noun				
Number	man/Ø sab	man/Ø	man	mane/anek
Adjective				
Masculine	choṭ/choṭe choṭka	choṭe	choṭe choṭka	choṭe
Feminine	choṭ/choṭe choṭka/choṭki	choṭe	choṭe choṭka	choṭe
Plural masculine	choṭ/choṭe choṭka	choṭe	choṭka	choṭe
Augmented Form	ṭ^{h}o/go	go/goṭ^h	ṭ^{h}o	ṭa (with noun and pronominals) ṭ^{h}a (with numerals)

Case	Mainland Sadari	Raigarh proper	Jalpaiguri	24-Parganas
Nominative	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Accusative	ke/Ø	la/Ø	ke/Ø	ke/Ø
Dative:				
Indirect object	ke/kar/e	ke	ke	ke/Ø
Intentive	ley/liye lagin/e	k^{h}a:j	lagin/e	lagun
Sociative	sang/ke sange ke sa:th	sange ke sange	sange	ke sange
Genitive	I, II per. -r I per. pl. -ar elsewhere -kar	I, II per. -r I per. pl. -ar elsewhere -kar	I, II per. -r I per. pl. -ar elesewhere -kar	I, II per. -r I per. pl. -ar elsewhere -kar
Instrumental	se/e	se	se	se/e
Ablative	se	le	se	se
Locative	mẽ/e	mẽ	mẽ	mẽ/e/upre

Verb	Mainland Sadari	Raigarh proper	Jalpaiguri	24-Parganas
Verb 'to be' III person				
Present				
Singular	heke/ahe/hai	hai/ahe	heke/ahe	hike/hikey
Plural	hekay/hai/he	hãi/ahe	hekay/ hãi/hẽ	--
Past	rahe/rahlak	rahis	rahe/ rahlak	rahe
Future	$\text{ban}^{(h)}\text{i}$	banhi	bani	hotei

	Mainland Sadari	Raigarh proper	Jalpaiguri	24-Parganas
Past Tense				
I per. sg.	v+l+õ k^ha:lõ (I ate)	k^ha:ye	k^ha:lõ	k^haykun holi/ k^ha:y kun rahi
II per. sg.	v+l+e k^ha:le (you ate)	k^ha:ye	k^ha:le	k^ha:y rahi k^hela hole
III per. sg.	v+l+ak corlak (he stole)	coralas	coralak	cura:i hala:y/ cura:i rahi
Future				
I per. sg.	v+b+õ ja:bõ (I shall go)	jabõ	ja:bõ	ja:b
I per. pl.	v+b+Ø ja:b (we shall go)	ja:b	ja:b ja:be	ja:b/ja:be ja:bey
II per. sg.	v+b+e jabe	jabe	jabe	jabe
II per. pl. + Hon.	--	jaba	--	--
Aspect Present Progressive				
III per. sg.	verb root + t k^ha:t he	k^ha:t he	k^ha:t he	k^ha:t he/ k^ha:y laga:y
Habitual	sutela sutat he (he sleeps)	sutela	sutela	sutela/ sut rahilai

Modal	Mainland Ṡadari	Raigarh proper	Jalpaiguri	24-Parganas
Present				
I per. sg.	pa:rbõ pa:rat hõ sakuna	sakon	pa:rõ sakon	pa:ri
Potential				
Past	pa:rlõ saklõ	saklõ	pa:rlõ	pa:rbe
Future	pa:rbõ sakbõ	sakbũ sakũ	pa:rbõ	pa:rbi pa:rab
Permissive	'let him go' ja:y de ja:yik de ja:y deva	ja:yik de	ja:yik de	ja:yde ja:ydehin
Imperative	'come' a:o a:w	a:	a:o a:w	a:w

Table 2 : Lexical Variation*

Gloss	Mainland Sadari	Raigarh proper	24-Parganas
1	2	3	4
arrow	ti:r	ka:nd/ciya:ri	--
blanket	kamra/kambal	--	kambol
hill	paha:ṛ	toṅgri/paha:r	--
bow	dʰanu	--	dʰanuk/dʰanu
cap	ṭopi/ṭupi	--	--
camb	kakayi/kaṅgʰi	--	kakoi
door	du:ra	du:ra/pʰaṛka	--
dhoti	dʰoti	--	--
drum	ḍʰo:l/ḍʰo:lki	--	ḍʰol
ear-ring	lola	--	kanparsi/du:l
fishing net	ja:l	--	--
flute	basuri	--	bã:ś̃i bɔśiya
hut	gʰar	jʰa:la/gʰar	gʰor
knife	cʰuri/ca:ku	--	cʰuri
needle	su:i	su:ji	śui/ś̃ui
ring	aṅgṭʰi	--	--
roof	cʰat	--	ca:l/cʰawni
room	koṭʰari	--	--
spear	balam	--	--
window	kʰiṛki	--	bʰãwri/jaṅgla
brinjal	bʰa:ṭa	--	baigun
egg	a:ṛa	ã:ṛa/ḍi:ma	ã:ṛa/ḍi:m

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*Since the variety of Sadari spoken in Jalpaiguri does not show any variation with the MLA at the level of lexicon, the lexical items of this variety are not listed. The blanks indicate the lexical item is identical with the corresponding form of MLA.

1	2	3	4
cooked rice	bʰa:t	--	--
fruit	pʰal/pʰar	--	pʰɔl
groundnut oil	bada:m/muṅgpʰali	--	--
honey	madʰu/maud	--	--
meat	ma:s	--	ma:s/moṅšo
milk	du:dʰ	go-ras/dudʰ	--
water	pa:ni	--	pa:ni/jɔ:l
bamboo	bã:s	--	--
banyan tree	bar/baṛ gacʰ	bar gacʰ	boṛ
coconut	nariyal/nariyar	--	narikol
crop	dʰa:n/kʰeti	--	--
maize	makayi/jinhor	jondʰra/jinhor	--
mango	amba	a:ma	a:m
neem tree	ni:m/li:m	li:m	--
onion	pĩya:j	pĩya:j/gõdali	--
paddy	dʰa:n	--	--
palm tree	kʰiju:r	--	--
pipal tree	pi:par/pi:pal	--	--
plantain	kela/kera	--	kola
potato	a:lu	--	--
pumpkin	kõhaṛa	--	--
rosewood tree	sisaṃ	si:ras	--
sandalwood tree	candan	--	--
seed	bihan	--	--
tamarind tree	tete:r	amli	--
teak	sagu:n	--	--
wheat	gẽhu/gõhu	--	--

1	2	3	4
beard	da:ṛ^{h}i	--	--
belly	pe:ṭ	--	--
body	dẽ:h	--	ga:tor/dehun
bone	ha:ṛ	--	--
chest	c^{h}a:ti	--	c^{h}a:ti/buk
ear	ka:n	--	--
eye	ã:ik^{h}	--	ã:k^{h}/co:k^{h}
face	cehara	--	--
finger	aṅgri	--	--
hair	kẽ:s	--	cu:l
hand	hã:t^{h}	--	--
head	mu:ṛ	--	--
lip	o:ṭ^{h}/õ:ṭ^{h}	--	ṭ^{h}õṭ
leg	goṛ	--	--
moustache	mec^{h}a	--	gõ:p
mouth	mu:h	--	muk^{h}
nail	nɔk^{h}/nɔh	--	--
neck	g^{h}ẽca	--	--
nose	na:k	--	--
palm	hã:t^{h}	--	--
skin	camṛa	c^{h}a:l/c^{h}a:li	--
throat	g^{h}ẽca	ḍ^{h}ẽṭu	ṭoṭa/ṭoṭi/gola
tongue	ji:b^{h}	--	--
tooth	dã:t	--	--
animal	pasu	--	--
ant	cimṭi	cã:ṭi	cimṭi/paṭ^{h}iya
bear	b^{h}a:lu	--	b^{h}a:luk^{h}

1	2	3	4
bee	ma:kʰi/ma:cʰi	--	--
buffalo	bʰãis/bʰõis	--	moiš
bull	garu/bail	garu	cʰa:rgaru
butterfly	papla	pʰilpʰila	papla/proja:poti
calf	bacʰra	--	ba:cʰu:r
cat	bilayi	--	--
cow	ga:y	--	--
crab	kʰakʰra	--	--
crow	kauwa	--	--
dog	kukur	--	--
elephant	ha:tʰi/hã:tʰi	--	--
fish	machri/machli	--	ma:che
frog	be:ṅg/be:ṅga	--	--
goat	cʰeri/cʰagri	cʰeri	cʰa:gri
hen	murgi	kʰukri/kukri	--
monkey	bãdara	bẽdara	--
mosquito	bʰũsṛi	--	--
owl	pe:ca	kʰusar	--
parrot	su:ga	--	tota/suga/pa:yra
peacock	menjur	--	--
pig	suwer	gʰusra	--
rabbit	lamʰa	kʰarha	kʰargoš
rat	mu:sa	musua	ĩdu:r/mu:sa
snake	sã:p	--	--
tiger	ba:gh	citwa	--
fever	jor	--	--
headache	mu:ṛ ba:tʰa	--	--

1	2	3	4
blacksmith	lohra	--	kam^{h}ra
farmer	kisa:n	--	ca:ša
money lender	sa:huka:r	se:ṭ^h	maha:jan
post runner	piyun	--	--
village headman	muk^{h}iya	--	moṛo:l
copper	ta:mba	ta:mb	--
iron	loha	--	--
silver	cã:di	--	ru:pa
brass	pitar/pital	--	--
axe	ṭaṅgi/ṭaṅgiya	ṭaṅga/ṭaṅgiya	ṭa:ṅga/kuṛ^{h}ol
bullockcart	bailaga:ṛi	--	--
plough	hal/har	naṅgar	la:ṅgol
spade	koṛi	--	koda:l
sickle	hẽsua	--	--
crowbar	sabal/sabar	--	--
demon	ra:kas	--	--
festival	pɔrab	tiha:r	parbo
God	b^{h}agwa:n	--	--
prayer	binti	--	goṛ ka:ṛa
priest	puja:ri	--	--
temple	mandir	--	--
witch craft	ḍayin	pãgnaha	--
worship	pu:ja	--	--
boy	c^{h}õṛa/laṛka	c^{h}okra/leka	c^{h}õṛa/c^{h}ele
bride	kanya/dul^{h}an	dul^{h}i	--
bridegroom	dul^{h}ha/bar	--	bɔrba:bu
brother	b^{h}a:yi	--	--

1	2	3	4
daughter	be:ṭi	--	--
daughter-in-law	bahuriya	--	--
father	ba:p	bua	bou
father's mother	a:ji	--	ṭ^{h}a:ku ma
girl	c^{h}oṛi	c^{h}okṛi/leki	kanya
husband	purus	ḍauka	puruš
husband's brother	dewar	--	--
husband's father	sasur	--	--
mother	ma:y	a:yo/ba:yi	--
mother's father	na:na	--	--
sister	bahin	--	--
sister's husband	b^{h}ã:ṭu	--	bahin dama:d
son	beṭa	--	--
wife	patni/ḍauki	ḍauki	--
wife's brother	sa:la/sa:ra	--	--
wife's father	sasur	--	--
one	ek	--	--
two	dui	--	--
three	ti:n	--	--
four	cayir	--	--
five	pã:c	--	--
six	c^{h}ay	c^{h}e	--
seven	sa:t	--	--
eight	a:ṭh	--	--
nine	nau	--	--
ten	das	--	--
eleven	iga:ro/ega:ro	gya:ro	--

1	2	3	4
nineteen	unnais	--	--
twenty	e:k koṛi	--	--
thirty	e:k ko:ṛi das	--	tiri:š
forty	dui ko:ṛi	--	cɔlliš
fifty	dui ko:ṛi das	--	--
sixty	ti:n ko:ṛi	--	--
seventy	ti:n ko:ṛi das	--	--
eighty	cayir ko:ṛi	--	--
ninety	c:ayir ko:ṛi das	--	--
hundred	pã:c koṛi	--	--
thousand	haja:r	--	--
first	pahila	--	--
second	dusra	--	--
third	tisra	--	--
answer	jawa:b deik	--	--
arrange	jama karek	ṭʰi:k ṭʰa:k karek	--
boil	ḍabka:yik	--	--
borrow	udʰra leyik	laga lena	--
break	ṭuṭua:yik	--	--
burn	ja:rek	--	--
burry	to:pek	--	--
buy	ki:nʰek	--	--
call	bula:yik	ḍa:ikan	--
catch	dʰa:rek	--	--
chase	kudayik	--	--
climb	ca:ṛʰek	--	--
comb	korek	--	cirɔl

1	2	3	4
come	a:wek	--	--
cook	rã:dʰek	--	--
dance	na:cek	--	--
die	marek	--	--
dig	koṛek	--	-
do	karek	--	--
drink	piyek	--	kʰewa:l
eat	kʰa:yek	--	--
feed	kʰiyaik/piyaik	--	--
gather	jama kɔṛek	sakelna/ekiṭʰan koṛna	--
hide	lukayik	--	--
kill	ma:rek	--	--
laugh	hã:sek	--	--
punish	saja dewek	--	--
read	paṛʰek	--	--
run	bʰã:gek	--	pa:ra:b
shut	ḍʰã:kek	--	laga:w
speak	bolek	goṭʰiyana	--
vomit	oka:yik	--	--
work	ka:m karek	--	--
good	be:s	baṛʰiyã	--
happiness	kʰusi	--	--
lazy	koṛʰi	koṛʰiya	--
pain	ba:tʰa	--	--
across	u: pa:r	--	--
after	ba:d	--	pɔre

1	2	3	4
around	cayirõ o:r	--	ca:ro dike
before	a:ge	a:gʰu/a:gu	--
behind	pa:cʰe	pa:cʰu/pi:cʰu	--
between	ma:jʰe	--	--
down	heṭʰe	heṭʰe/kʰa:le	--
up/upward	upre	--	--
east	purab	purub	pub/pu:rub
west	pacʰim	--	--
north	uttar	--	--
south	dakʰin	--	--

SADARI OF ORISSA

K. S. Rajyashree

SADARI OF ORISSA

I. INTRODUCTION

The present survey was undertaken with the assumption that there is a lingua franca or lingue francae, which are used for inter-tribal communication in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. The use of Sadari or Desi was anticipated in the seven districts of North Orissa under study. It was expected that though sometimes the language used for inter-tribal communication is identified by different names by various tribes at different places, it may be structurally the same. Further it was assumed that this lingua franca is different from the dominant language of the region.

II. METHODOLOGY

1. Selection of Tribes

It was decided that the tribes having more than 1000 population in a district would be considered for the present survey to account for the variables such as age, sex, region, migration, education, rural/urban affiliation, etc., which could facilitate a detailed study, if required. The undermentioned tribes were accordingly selected. The following figures are from 1961 Census.

District		Tribe	Population
1		2	3
a) Cuttack	...	Shabar	39,505
		Kolha	9,404
		Munda	6,742

1		2	3
		Bhumij	1,734
		Santal	2,391
b) Dhenkanal	...	Shabar	12,365
		Juang	11,551
		Matya	2,505
		Kora	3,357
		Gond	20,379
		Mirdhas	2,094
c) Balasore	...	Bhumij	20,149
		Kolha	19,722
d) Mayurbhanj	...	Santal	340,327
		Kolha	119,136
		Ho	27,000
		Bathudi	59,377
		Bhuiya	29,616
		Gond	16,659
		Sounti	11,450
		Bhumij	79,394
		Pentya	3,853
e) Keonjhar	...	Kol	31,715
		Munda	27,492
		Bhuiya	52,686
		Sounti	30,891
		Gond	39,232
		Bathudi	37,465
		Kolha	31,715
		Santal	27,159
f) Sundergarh	...	Bhuiya	45,168
		Oraon	114,103
		Munda	113,431
		Gond	34,849
		Kisan	50,632
		Kharia	53,243
g) Sambalpur	...	Savara	82,575
		Gond	93,875

1	2	3
	Kissan	66,528
	Binjhal	46,134
	Mirdhas	16,491
	Oraon	12,129

2. Selection of Areal Points

After selection of the tribes, the points for data collection were decided from the Map No.120-21 of Census Atlas of Orissa, 1961. The information in terms of block headquarters as well as police stations was available before commencing field work. The actual villages were selected in the field with the help of local Block Development Officers, Special Officers and other authorities. The area-wise points of data collection are given below:

District	Block	Village	Tribe
1	2	3	4
a) Cuttack ...	Sukinda	Madhopur	Bhumij Munda Kolha
		Bholabari	Matya
		Patapur	Munda
		Sabarasahi	Sabara
		Baliya	Santal
b) Keonjhar ...	Kanjipani	Kanjipani	Junag
		Panasanasa	Junag
		Talipada	Bhuiya
		Guptaganga	Juang
	Keonjhar	Madanamohan Patana	Sounti

1	2	3	4
		Gumra	Munda
		Bamangav	Bathudi Bhuiya
		Comoria	Santal
	Champun	Ramala	Munda
		Chandrasekharpur	Kolha
		Kasibada	Sounti Bathudi
	Ramachandrapur	Ramachandrapur	Santal
e) Balasore ...	Nilgiri	Tenda	Bhumij
		Gopalpur	Bhumij
		Ayodhya	Kolha
	Baibaniya	Kabataghati	Bhumij Santal
		Olmara	Rajuar
d) Mayurbhanj ...	Baripada	Badabille	Santal Bhumij
	Bangriposi	Punasia	Bhuiya Bathudi
		Kaliyami	Bhumij
	Karanjia	Neduapala	Kolha Gond
e) Sundergarh ..	Hemgir	Durubaga	Gond Khariya Munda Bhuiya
		Tiliya	Munda
	Lehpripada	Gundyadihi	Kisan Oraon

1	2	3	4
	Lahulipada	Fatatanagar	Bhuiya Mirdhas
f) Sambalpur ...	Durla	Durla	Mirdhas
	Rengali	Bengali	Oraon
		Jaripara	Gond
		Pandikimal	Mirdhas
	Padampur	Bijadihi	Binjhal
	Paikmal	Khair	Binjhal
	Vargarh	Poranunda	Savara

3. Tools for Data Collection

It was decided that the major tool for data collection would be a word and sentence list and in addition, there would be informal interviews to find out the domains of language use and attitudes towards different varieties as well as towards the major language of the region and for socio-cultural information.

It was anticipated that the language of inter-tribal communication would be Desi[1] or Sadari, but on the field it was found that in most places the different tribals spoke a variety of Oriya for inter-tribal communication. It was also realised that to collect the samples of Oriya spoken by tribals, word and sentence list was not appropriate. The tribals are bilinguals in Oriya and had to be asked the equivalents in Oriya through Oriya only. In such cases they would just repeat the words given by the interviewer. It was then decided to collect the information in the form of narratives. The informants were asked to narrate the cultural ceremonies such as marriage, birth, death, festival and about their origin and migration, if they knew. Such narratives were recorded. Apart from recording, the tapes were played back to the members of the same tribe from different places to check the socio-cultural information, attitudes towards Oriya spoken by the other tribes as well as by the same tribe elsewhere.

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[1] Desi is the language of inter-tribal communication in Koraput District of Orissa.

Whenever the mother tongue was reported other than Oriya, the data were collected through word and sentence list. This in fact covered three languages from four tribes, viz., Sadari from Oraons and Kissan, Lariya from Gond and a variety of Bengali from Bhumij.

4. Analysis

a) Comparison of non-Oriya mother tongue with the variety of these generally spoken outside Orissa.

The samples are described and are compared with the Sadari samples collected outside Orissa. The Bhumij data which show similarity with Bengali mother tongue sample of Bhumij tribe collected from Mayurbhanj district by Shri Ramaswami. The detailed conclusions of the comparison follows.

b) Comparison of Oriya spoken by tribals with the variety of Oriya accepted as the standard.

Apart from the mother tongue data, the narratives in Oriya are played to the native speakers of Oriya. The features of the oriya spoken by tribals are isolated. The detailed analysis is given in the next section.

c) Socio-cultural information.

A detailed field diary is maintained, where the observations of the interviews as well as opinions of non-tribals and tribals about Oriya spoken by tribals and socio-cultural information about tribals are recorded. The information about socio-cultural set up and notions recorded on tapes is also cross-checked with the field diary.

The conclusions are drawn from the linguistic comparisons, opinions of native speakers of Oriya, Bangla, and the interviewer's observations.

III. TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

1. Socio-cultural Information

a) Inter-tribal Communication

In Sukinda and in Kanjipani sub-division of Keonjhar district, it was observed that there was absolutely no inter-tribal communication and the only communication across ethnic boundaries was between tribals and non-tribals. For example, Madhopur village of Sukinda block, Bhumij, Kolha and Munda tribes live together. These people have their own compact colonies and do not have any contact with each other.

At the remaining places, it was observed that there were certain villages where two or more tribes lived together and communicated with each other, for example, in Gundiadihi village of Lehpripada block, Kisans and Oraons lived together. These people have maximum social communication. These Oraons/Kisans are bilinguals and speak each other's mother tongue along with their own mother tongue and Oriya.

There are some other places where there is inter-tribal communication and the language of inter-tribal communication is Oriya since Oriya is the mother tongue of one of the tribes. Neduapala village illustrates this point. In this village of

Karanjia sub-division, Kolhas and Gonds live together. These people do not have any cultural relations but have communication among themselves. These Gonds, who show 100% shift in the mother tongue have adopted Oriya. The language of inter-tribal communication between Gonds and Kolhas is Oriya.

In some places none of the tribes have mother tongue Oriya but the language of inter-tribal communication is Oriya. For instance, in Durubaga village of Homgir block, Gond-Lariya (MT), Kharia-Kharia (MT), Munda-Munda (MT) and Bhumij-Bhumij (MT) live together and inter-tribal communication takes place in Oriya.

The places where linguistically related tribes, for instance Munda group of tribes, come in contact with each other, claim to understand each other's language and speak in their own languages without affecting communication.

It is also to be considered that for all the social and cultural purposes these tribes are closed communities and the inter-tribal communication is restricted to few situations like Market and other public places.

It is observed by the interviewers that many of the tribals and non-tribals, in Sundergarh and Sambalpur districts do speak Sadari, though they deny any knowledge of it. The use of Sadari is reported to be considered derogatory and mother tongue Sadari is looked down upon. This attitude is shown uniformly by all the informants under survey.

b) Status

There is a definite notion of superiority amongst tribal groups. Beef-eating groups are considered lowest on the scale and the groups having relations with Brahmins is considered highest on the scale. For example:

(i) The Shabaras in Sukinda claim that they are such a superior tribe that they would not even drink water at the hands of Brahmins, while non-tribals still have an attitude of inferiority towards them.

(ii) Bathudi, Samti and Bhuiyas consider themselves superior to other tribal groups equal to the non-tribals specially to the higher castes, as they are allowed into Brahmin houses and eat and drink in those people's houses. Also Brahmin priests perform all rites at all their cremonies. They consider other tribes inferior to them as they are allegedly beef-eaters. Other tribal groups also consider them superior.

(iii) The Mundas, Kolhas, Bhumij and Hos consider Santals inferior to them but, as one Kolha informant puts it, the question of superiority and inferiority does not arise as no tribe has any social or cultural contact with the rest of the tribes.

(iv) The non-tribal group consider all the tribe communities inferior. Because of this, members of some tribes holding white collar jobs show a certain degree of submissiveness, irrespective of their qualifications. Rest of the tribal communities consider themselves equal to non-tribals.

(v) Among the tribes those converted to Christianity are looked down upon and are not allowed to participate in the cultural and social functions of the tribe.

c) Sub-divisions

(i) Among Bhumij there are supposedly six groups. They are:

Haladi Pokhariya Bhumij,

Tamudia Bhumij,
Koda Bhumij,
Barabhiya Bhumij,
Rajakudi Bhumij, and
Deuri Bhumij.

Among these groups first two speak Mundari. The third speaks Bangla. The remaining three speak only Oriya and of these the last has been deleted from the list of scheduled tribes in Orissa by the Government of Orissa.

(ii) Matya: Kolha Matya, Kodu Matya, Tosa Matya, Telonga Matya. Among these sub-divisions Kolha Matya have adopted Oriya as mother tongue and consider themselves superior to others.

(iii) Bhuiya: Paudi Bhuiya, Bhuiya. Paudi Bhuiya are residents of hills and are considered lower in status than Bhuiyas. Bhuiyas consider themselves superior to others, they are more educated and urbanized than Paudi Bhuiyas. Paudi Bhuiyas drink liquor while Bhuiyas do not drink liquor and follow most of the Brahmanical traditions.

Among the tribes under study not only the inter-tribal marriage is impossible but also the sub-tribe is the endogamous group for marriage and cultural relations. These tribes do not have any social relation with the people outside their own respective ethnic groups including the non-tribals. This is more true of the tribes in interior areas. The tribes in urban areas have more liberal attitudes with other tribes as well as non-tribals and on some occasions like marriage, death ceremony, festival, etc., they participate in the social functions of the other tribes and the non-tribals, though it is not very common or frequent and depends mostly on individuals.

In all the seven districts of Orissa under study no pidgin or creole is used for inter-tribal communication. Hence the socio-cultural information pertaining to pidgin and creole is not collected.

2. Linguistic Information

a) Oriya

The language of inter-tribal communication in the seven districts of North Orissa under study is Oriya. The linguistic analysis reveals the following features about the nature of Oriya used for inter-tribal communication.

(i) Oriya spoken by the tribes does not show any influence of tribal languages except certain lexical items. The educated tribes show less influence of mother tongue than the uneducated. These lexical items are found only when there are no equivalent cultural expression in Oriya. For example:

kɔmɔha kɔrila	'sanskara on the cremation ground'
jhɔpa	'fasting for dead'
hurdi chida	'cleaning of the bones of the dead'
muthiya chɔra	'to give fire to dead person's mouth' (from a narrative - a ritual on death ceremony).

(ii) Oriya spoken by the tribes does not show any features which are different from the Oriya of uneducated non-tribals. According to the opinion of the native speakers of oriya, the variations observed in the Oriya samples are only the regional features. Many a time, lexical items of the structural features cannot be identified but the accent is identified as tribal or regional. Some of the regional features found at various linguistic levels in Oriya spoken by tribes are listed in the Appendix-2.

(iii) It is very interesting to note that among all the tribes under study, only Paudi Bhuiyas claimed that the Oriya which they speak among themselves is quite different from the Oriya which they speak with outsiders. When Oriya sample of Paudi Bhuiyas from Keonjhar was played to the Paudi Bhuiyas from Sundergarh, they readily accepted that speech as their own and claimed that they speak that particular Oriya among themselves and not the 'Khanti' or 'Pure' Oriya, which they speak with outsiders. When both the Oriya sample (i.e., Oriya among themselves and Oriya with outsiders) were played to the native non-tribal speakers of Oriya, they could not identify any special features which could distinguish these varieties. They felt that accent was considerably different. This opinion was expressed by the non-linguists.

Apart from the language of inter-tribalcommunication, viz., Oriya, samples from certain other languages were collected. These samples were collected to examine whether these languages are identified by different names but are structurally the same. The data were mainly collected on Sadari, Lariya, Binjhia and Bangḷa.

b) Sadari

Sadari samples were collected from Oraons, Kisans and Mundas in Sundergarh district and from Oraons in Sambalpur districts. Only Oraons from both the districts have claimed Sadari as their mother tongue. Mundas have reported Mundari as their mother tongue. In addition to their mother tongue they speak Sadari rather hesitatingly and Hindi fluently. The younger generation reported that they have migrated from Ranchi very recently, which explains their knowledge of Sadari as well as fluency in Hindi.

The group of Mundas which the present interviewers came across has adopted Christianity and most of the youngsters are educated upto primary level of schooling. These youngsters reported that their parents had migrated to Orissa nearly twenty years ago and spoke Oriya and had a little proficiency in both Sadari and Hindi. The opinions and views expressed by the youngsters are supported by the interviews of old people as well as by the observations of the present interviewers. According to these Mundas, there is very little inter-tribal communication amongst the tribes. Sadari is not used for the inter-tribal communication in Orissa but they claimed that in Ranchi, with some tribes like Kisan and Oraon, whose mother tongue is Sadari, they seldom spoke Sadari. As inter-tribal communication is very rare, Sadari is rarely used. Youngsters have learnt it in the āshrama schools, where children from different tribes live together and some of them being Kisan and Oraon, the Munda children have acquainted themselves with Sadari, and have working knowledge of Sadari. Mundas were very hesitant to give the sample of Sadari and hence the Sadari and Lariya samples already collected on tapes were played to them to identify their Sadari. They identified Sadari sample with their variety and rejected Lariya sample as not pure Sadari.

Kisans reported Sadari as their second language. The Kisans stay in the same village with the Oraons whose mother tongue is Sadari. Oraons who have reported their mother tongue as Sadari from both the Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts reported that they have migrated from Madhya Pradesh. The Sadari samples in Orissa when compared with Sadari samples from Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, show the maximum similarity with the Sadari spoken by Oraons of Madhya Pradesh. There are no significant differences between the mother tongue Sadari and second language Sadari samples collected from Oraon. Some of the Lexical items which are different are listed below:

Mother Tongue	*Second Language*	*Gloss*
Duṛa	taṭi	door
koṭhari	bɔkhra	room
kela	kɔdɔl	banana
jinhor	mikka	maize
sui	suji	needle

All the Sadari speakers reported above speak Oriya with other gtribes as well as with non-tribals. In the villages covered, the primary schools are established, where medium of instruction is Oriya. it can thus be concluded that though Sadari is used as an inter-tribal lingua-franca at other places, in the districts of Orissa under study Oriya remains the regional lingua-franca.

c) Lariya

Apart from Sadari, Lariya was also reported as mother tongue by the Gonds from Durubaga village of Hemgir block, while at theremaining places, Gonds show 100% replacement of mother tongue by Oriya. Some of them even cannot say whether they ever had any other mother tongue than oriya in their history. The comparison of Lariya samples with Sadari samples show that these two languages are intelligible and Lariya can be a dialect of Sadari. Among the 200 lexical items under study 20% of the vocabulary is different in these two languages. On the grammatical level, the differences are found in the pronouns, copula, formation of negatives and dative case. The differences found in these two languages at various linguistic levels are listed in the Appendix-2. Further study may reveal the nature of relationship or similarity between the two languages.

d) Binjhia

According to 1961 Census, almost all the members of this tribe speak Oriya as their mother tongue, except 209 persons in the district of Sundergarh who speak their tribal language Binjhia and 204 persons from Kalahand district who speak Lariya.

The Binjhals are said to be a sub-division of the Baigas in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur of Madhya Pradesh (The Tribes of Orissa 31). The Binjhals from Padampur block of Sambalpur district supported the above view about their migration. They also reported to have a mother tongue different from Oriya. They also reported that most of the people are changing over to Oriya as mother tongue and most of the younger generation cannot speak their ancestral language and a few cannot even understand it. In some of the villages even the older generation has lost the mother tongue in totality and has adopted Oriya. Therefore, it was not possible to get sample of Binjha mother tongue.

e) Baṅgḷa

In Kabaṭaghati village of Raibaniya block of Balasore district, which is a border area of Bengal and orissa, a Bhumij sample is collected which does not show any similarity with Bhumij samples collected elsewhere in Orissa, at Nilgiri block of Balasore district and Baripada and Bangriposi blocks of Mayurbhanj district. In the rest of the places Bhumij have either reported Mundari as (at some places) Oriya as their mother tongue. It is interesting that the same speech is recorded in the Mayurbhanj district from Koda Bhumij who have reported to have migrated from West Bengal having their own mother tongue named 'Bangla'. These Bhumij groups have migrated around two generations back and still have maintained relations with the groups in Bengal for marital relations. The Kabataghati village, from where the sample is collected has an āshrama school. A student from IX standard was the informant, who hailed from the village Olmara, eight miles away from Kabataghati. This village is on the bank of river Suvarnarekha, which is a bordering line of Bengal and Orissa.

The Bangḷa spoken by Bhumij, when compared with Bangla from Calcutta, shows different features at various linguistic levels. From the limited data available, it can be concluded that the Bangḷa spoken by Bhumij might be a dialect or regional variation of Bangla, mostly from Purulia-Bankura region. Certain features of Purulia-Bankura Bangla are found in Bhumij Bangḷa. For example, past tense suffix /-ili/ or second singular suffix /-s/, are found in Purulia variety while in standard or Calcutta Bangla it is /-achi/ and /-0/ respectively (for examples, see Appendix-5).

Apart from the above regional features Bhumij Bangḷa shows certain other differences with Calcutta Bangla. The information is not available whether these features are also there in the Purulia-Bankura variety, e.g., presence of copula, reduction of two negative markers of Bangla to a single one and certain phonological changes, in pronominal forms (for examples, see Appendix-4).

At the lexical level, 14% of the words are different from Calcutta Bangla and almost 40% words show phonetic change. Among the lexical items that show difference from Bangla, some are found in standard Oriya, such as:

miṭha	'sweet'
kuḍiya	'twenty'

kɔdɔl	'banana'
bhat	'rice', etc.

Some items are found in the regional Oriya, such as:

suruj	'sun'
dɔrya	'sea'
beUsa	'trader', etc.

Some other lexical items are not found in both Oriya and Bangla such as:

caḍe caḍe	'fast'
kaba	'crow'
duar	'door', etc. (for examples, see Appendix-4).

The two samples of Bhumij Bangḷa from Balasore and Mayurbhanj show certain dialectic variations, though both the varieties are highly miutually intelligible. On lexical level 16% of vocabulary is different. On grammatical level, Balasore Bangḷa shows copula, while Mayurbhanj Bangḷa shows its absence. In the case of past continuous forms, Balasore Bangḷa shows more influence of Oriya while Mayurbhanj Bangḷa shows more affinity towards Bangḷa. There are some other cases, where data show different forms of adverbs, but in the presence of limited data, a statement cannot be made whether both the adverbs are present in these varieties (for examples, see Appendix-5).

Bhumij who have reported Bangḷa as mother tongue are also bilinguals in Oriya as other tribes in Orissa, and use oriya for inter-tribal communication.

IV. STRATEGIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

From the pilot survey of the seven districts of North Orissa, the main conclusion is that the lingua-franca is Oriya. The analysis of limited data collected in Pilot Survey shows that it is only a regional variation and no pidginization or creolization seems to be taking place. A further detailed study of this Oriya may reveal the influence of tribal mother tongue, if any, on it. It may also be rewarding, if the opinion of Paudi Bhuiyas (cf. pp.18-19) about having a different variety of Oriya for intra-tribal communication is examined carefully. The data collected from Paudi Bhuiyas were listened to by a non-linguist. If the sample is studied by a linguist with fluency in Oriya, it may reveal whether the opinion of Paudi Bhuiyas about their Oriya is only an attitude or a fact.

The detailed study of Sadari and Lariya may bring out the definite idea about the nature of the relationship between the two languages, the common core between the two languages and also attitudes about these languages from both Gond and Oraon speakers.

Further study of Binjhia may be useful in establishing a positive relationship between Binjhia and Chhattisgarhi. It will also be interesting to study why in only certain areas Binjhals have preserved their mother tongue and in certain areas they speak Lariya or Oriya. It would also be interesting to collect the sample of Lariya of Binjhals and compare it with the Lariya of Gonds.

The indepth study of Bangla mother tongue of Bhumij from Mayurbhanj and Balasore district may also help establishing the amount of variation, and reasons for those variations. It can also show the extent of variation from Purulia-Bankura variety of Bangla.

The study of Sadari as mother tongue or as a second language, spoken by tribals as well as by non-tribals can be studied in depth in Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts. It may however not show any drastic change from Sadari spoken in Madhya Pradesh as these districts are bordering districts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and there is constant communication between the people in both the states.

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Appendix 1

Differences Between Tribal Oriya and Standard Oriya

a) Phonology

	Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
i)	**/ḷ/**	**/ḍ/**	
	/khọḷiba/	/khuḍiba/	to dig
ii)	**/n/**	**/l/**	
	/nunga/	/luga/	cloth
	/nāgu/	/lage/	want
	/nuṇo/	/luṇe/	salt
iii)	**/ḍ/**	**/l/**	
	/kheḍ/	/kheḷa/	play (N)
	/kheḍuchanti/	/kheḷuchanti/	they play
	/beḍe/	/beḷe/	at ... time
iv)	**/n/**	**/ṇ/**	
	/pana/	/pɔṇa/	a tradition
	/pani/	/paṇi/	water
v)	**Cluster simplification:**		
	pɔrɔṭha	prɔtha	tradition

b) Morphology

i) Infinitive is formed in Oriya by adding –**iba** (or –**ba**–) to the stem

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
gadhib	gɔdhɔiba	to take bath
ulhib	olhaiba	to take down

ii) First person singular and third person singular present perfect suffixes.

jaisu	jaici	I/he/she/have/has gone

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
aisu	asici	I/he/she/have has come
karsu	karici	I/he/she/have/has done

iii) Third person singular past perfect forms.

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
kahijua	kahijiba	he/she had told
bideyuva	bida heba	he/she had parted

iv) First person plural future tense suffix.

	Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
a)	jimu	jibu	we will go
	parmu	paribu	we can go
	animu	aṇibu	we will bring
b)	aysu	asibu	we will come
	jaysu	jibu	we will go
	karsu	karibu	we will go
c)	karbu	karibu	we will do
	pɔḍbu	pɔḍibu	we will fall
	asbu	asibu	we will come
d)	pɔḍba	pɔḍibu	we will fall
	asba	asibu	we will come
	neba	nebu	we will take

v) Third person plural/honorific singular present tense suffix.

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
achan	achanti	he/they(are) ...
jai san	jaichanti	they go
karchan	karchanti	they do
aṇichan	aṇichanti	they bring

vi) Negative constructions.

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
na karu	kɔru nahu	(you) don't do
nayi hoy	na hoye	is not

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
nayi diya	nɔdeu	(you) don't give (These constructions come with if)

vii) Locative case marker.

muḍe	munḍ re	on the head
khake	kakhare	in the arm

viii) Adverbs.

kouthi	keuthare	where, in which place
kì	keu	which

c) Lexicon

i) Different lexical items of Tribal oriya which are in vogue in the regional varieties.

Tribal Oriya	*Standard Oriya*	*Gloss*
anga	puːni	again
arsa	prasthav	proposal
jahira	prɔtha	a system
toṇa	ghenca	thick
idurva	yɔha pore	afterwards
unḍu unḍu	iyaḍe siyaḍe	here and there
sekhane	seṭhare	there
senu	seṭhu	for that
kenta	kipare	how
senta	separe	like that
moudh sai	sasu ghɔrɔ	father-in-law's house
nua likaṭan	nua lok	new comer

ii) Archaic/Poetic forms.

jatiy	desuva	national
sɔm jukta	samɔrthy	capacity
thai kɔri	thai.	remaining

Tribal Oriya	*Sadari Oriya*	*Gloss*
koḍi	koḍiye	twenty
uṭhei bhɔt	gɔngaj liya	puffed rice
pɔnkti dhari		line

Appendix 2

Difference Between Sadari and Lariya Spoken in Orissa

a) Morphology

	Sadari	*Lariya*	*Gloss*
i) Pronoun:			
	/i/	/e/	this
	/u/	/e/	that
ii) Copula:			
	/heke/	/hai/	is
	/ay/	/ahe/	is
iii) Negation:			
	/nɔlage/	/nohe/	do not want
	/ni parbo/	/ni sakhu/	cannot (do)
	/ni jau/	/ni jau/	will not go
iv) Dative Case Markers:			
	/-ke/	/-la/	to

b) Lexicon

20% of the vocabulary items from the words and sentence list is different in these two languages. Some of the examples are given below.

Sadari	*Lariya*	*Gloss*
ṭok	ṭopi	cap
duṛa	cɔukhaṭ	door
kanphul	suna	ear-rings
agṭhi	mudi	ring
chay	cāl	roof
koṭhari	kɔkhra	room
bɔlɔm	bɔrchi	spear

Sadari	*Lariya*	*Gloss*
khiṛki	jangla	window
maudh	mɔdɔrɔs	honey
mas	sikar	meat
dudh	goras	milk
kheti	phasal	crop
pyaj	somli	onion
pɔtri	pitɔr	pipal tree
lauṭo	cɔḍɔ	lips
papla	phulphuli	butterfly
murga	kukra	hen
helmal	mɔkɔr	mosquito
peca	khusɔr	owl
suer	ghusra	pig
casi	kisan	farmer
rupa	caḍi	silver
kaṭh gaḍi	gaḍi	bullock cart
hat	nagar	plough
koḍi	rɔpha	spade
rakɔs	bhutua	demon
pɔrɔb	jɔtra	festival
bhɔgvan	mɔhapru	god
binti	juhar	prayer
mɔndir	deul	temple
chora chua	chokra	boy
chori chua	chokri	girl
jɔvab	uttar	answer

Appendix 3

Bhumij Bangla and Bangla from Calcutta show different features at various linguistic levels, which are listed below:

a) Morphology

i) Bhumij Bangla shows copula constructions.

ii) Pronominal forms show both use of **hami/ami, amar/hamar** while in Standard Bangla **hami/hamar** forms are not acceptable.

iii) Second person singular suffix /-s/ is found in Bhumij Bangla which is not acceptable in Standard Bangla. This form is found in Purulia-Bankura variety (this feature is found in Marathi).

1) **B. B.** : tui jabes ki?
C. B. : tui jabi ki?
Marathi : tu jates ka?
Gloss : will you go?

2) **B. B.** : tuin hamake janis
C. B. : tui amake jani
Marathi : tu məla janətes
Gloss : you know me

3) **B. B.** : tui manse khaicilos ki?
C. B. : tui manse kheyechi/kheyechili
Marathi : tu mas khalləes ka?
Gloss : have you eaten meat?

iv) Past tense suffix shows more similarity with Marathi than both Bangla and Oriya. This feature is also present in Bankura Bangla.

B. B. : hami manse khalli nai
C. B. : ami manse khai ni
S. O. : mu manse khai nathili

S. M. : mi mas khallə **nai**

Gloss : did not eat meat'

2) B. B. : hami manse khalli

S. B. : ami manse kheyechi

S. O. : mu manse khaili

S. M : mi mas khall

Gloss : I ate meat

v) Negation: Bhumij Bangla shows shows a process of reduction/simplification as far as negations are concerned. Bangla shows four negative markers which have specific environment and are not inter-changeable. But Bhumij Bangla has reduced these four negatives to a single one. For example:

1) B. B. : hami jabo **nai**

S. B. : ami jabo **na**

Gloss : I will not go

2) B. B. : hamar bɔhin sundɔri **nai**

S. B. : amar bɔn sundɔri **noi**

Gloss : my sister is not beautiful

3) B. B. : o pɔgla hɔi **nai**

S. B. : o pɔgla hɔi **ni**

Gloss : he is not mad

4) B. B. : hami manse khalli **nai**

S. B. : ami manse khai **ni**

Gloss : I did not eat meat

5) B. B. : amar ek tɔka **nai**

S. B. : amar tɔka **nei**

Gloss : I do not have a rupee

Note: B. B. = Bhumij Bangla, C. B. = Calcutta Bangla, S. O. = Standard Oriya,
S. M. = Standard Marathi, S. B. = Standard Bangla.

b) Lexicon

i) Lexical items of Bhumij Bangla which are found in Oriya (sṭandard).

Bhumij Banglạ	*Standard Bangla*	*Gloss*
Bohu	Bou	wife
kukuṛa	murga	fowl
mu	mukɔ	mouth
gohom	gɔm	wheat
kɔdɔl	kɔla	banana
chɔ	chɔy	six
kuḑiya	kuḑi	twenty
toralibo	gɔlejaboa	melt (intr.)
toraḷaibo	jɔle die	melt (tr.)
miṭha	miṣṭi	sweet
asundɔr	khɔrɔp	ugly
boḑɔ	bɔdo	big
sagua	sabuj	green

ii) Lexical items of Bhumij Bangla which are found in regional varieties of Oriya.

Bhumij Banglạ	*Bangla*	*Gloss*
baigaṇ	begun	brinjal
suruj	surjo	sun
dɔrya	sɔmudro	sea
bevsa	bedsai	trader
kaleya	kalo	black

iii) Lexical items which could not be traced in standard-regional Oriya and also in Standard Bangla.

kaba	kak	crow
duar	dɔrja	door
hami	ami	I
hamar	amar	we

Bhumij Bangla	*Bangla*	*Gloss*
kaibo	bola	to tell
caḍe caḍe	toḍo taḍi	fast
bɔrsa hɔbet	bristi̤	to rain

Appendix 5

The two samples of Bhumij Bangla collected in orissa from Balasore and Mayurbhanj districts show certain dialectic variations. Some of them are listed below:

a) Morphology

i) Copula:

Balasore variety shows copula, while Mayurbhanj variety does not have it.

Ba. : eiṭa hamar ghor boṭhe
Ma. : eita hamar ghar
Gloss : this is my house

Ba. : hamar goṭa choṭo boṭhe ki?
Ma. : hamar gota choṭo ki?
Gloss : is my village small?

Ba. : o pɔgla hai che
Ma. : u pɔgla hai
Gloss : he is mad

Ba. : o pɔgla hai chi ki?
Ma. : u pɔgla hai ki?
Gloss : is he mad?

Ba. : tui manso kahicilos ki?
Ma. : tui manso khallis ki?
Gloss : did you eat meat?

ii) Past Continuous:

Balasore variety shows more influence of Oriya.

Ba. : hami hɔmd rɔj mike hamar ma sɔngɔ jaithili
Ma. : hami mai songe ghɔrelle bike jate chili
Gloss : I was going with my mother from the house to the field

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Note: Ba. = Balasore, Ma. = Mayurbhanj.

Ba. : haim manso khai nathili

Ma. : hami mas khai nai

Gloss : I did not eat meat

iii) Adverbs:

The data shows the use of different adverbs of time in these varieties. But in the presence of limited data a statement cannot be made whether it is a distinguishing feature or both the adverbs are found in these two varieties. Example:

Ba. : hamra khaiairay jamike jabo

Ma. : khabɔr pore hamra hamder bil jai

Gloss : after having meals we will go to field

b) Lexicon

Some of the differences on lexical level are listed below:

Bhumij : Balasore	*Bhumij : Mayurbhanj*	*Gloss*
duar	aurg	door
bhat	cawl	rice
dela	suruj	sun
dɔrya	sɔmundɔr	sea
bevsa	bepari	trader
kụḍiya	guṛiye	twenty
nobbe	lobe	ninety
o	u	he
uthbo	upɔr cɔri	climb
megh hɔbet	bɔrṣa hɔbet	rain
cas karbo	hɔl karbo	plough
bhala pavet	pɔsɔnd kori	like
khɔrap	asundɔr	bad
sapha	bhɔbɔ	white

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BAZAARI HINDI AS LWC : A CASE STUDY OF DHARAVI SLUM IN BOMBAY

K. S. Rajyashree

BAZAARI HINDI OF DHARAVI

I. INTRODUCTION

Whether it is for the study of language description, language typology, genetic relationship, ethnography of communication in a multilingual network, language and socio-political planning in a plurilingual, pluricultural society or any other research in multilingual countries of the world, a clear understanding of the notion of 'Language of Wider Communication' (LWC) is essential. As a prelude to this study a pilot survey of Dharavi was undertaken from a demographic and ethnographic point of view. The pilot survey of Dharavi revealed the concentrically growing networks of communication and existence of many language of inter-lingual communication (Rajyashree, 1986).

Language of Inter-lingual Communication in Dharavi

The pilot survey of Dharavi shows that Dharavi is a miniature India. In Dharavi, 13 linguistic communities drawn from all over the country live together. Though these people have come together as a result of urbanisation, industrialization and modernization and are staying together for more than two-three generations, they form an aggregate of different groups. Every group is defined by linguistic, caste or religious considerations. Dharavi, which covers about 330 acres of land with 3.50 lakhs of population has various small residential units. Every unit is a tightly knit, involuted community. Most of the members of a residential unit hail from the same village or district. However there are instances where a few families belonging to a linguistic or religious group, other than the majority population stay in a residential unit, understand and speak the language of majority population. Thus the language of the majority of that particular residential unit becomes the language of inter-lingual communication. Thus all the languages spoken in Dharavi, assume the status of the language of inter-lingual communication in their restricted communication zones. For example, in Kamaraj Nagar, a dominant Tamil locality, there are four Marathi families, who are conversant with Tamil, while the dominant Tamil group do not know Marathi even though it is the official language of Maharashtra. On the other hand, in Subhash Nagar, a dominant Marathi locality has seven Tamil families who are fluent in Marathi but the Marathi speakers in Subhash Nagar do not know Tamil.

Occupational network shows a different language of inter-lingual communication. For example, the pilot survey revealed that in some industries like wool industry or tanneries supervisory staff are Muslims, generally sepaking Dhakani or Urdu, and the labourers are Marathi speakers. In these cases, most of the workers understand and speak Hindi/Urdu or Dhakani. In some cases where a worker has a different mother tongue than the majority of the workers in the Unit, she/he invariably knows the language of the majority. Thus the language of the owner, supervisory staff and majority of workers at working place becomes the dominant language within the working place. A Hindi shopkeeper, having a shop on the boundary of Marathi and Tamil residential units claimed to know both the languages.

Sometimes domains decide the language of the inter-lingual communication. In Dharavi, in certain domains Hindi[1] takes this role irrespective of language of dominant population. For example, in gambling dense or on the streets where children belonging to different linguistic groups gamble or play together, most often one hears only Hindi, even when none of them is a Hindi speaker. Only the languages used in such situations are treated as LWC.

Another aspect of the language of inter-lingual communication is that apart from the different zones of each language, the proficiency needed in each may also differ. It was observed in the pilot survey that though most of the dwellers reported knowledge of Hindi, some had only passive knowledge, some could converse, some others could give interview in Hindi while some others could narrate different incidents in Hindi with great fluency.

Even in a zone of communication where one language dominates the communication, it need not be necessarily the single code. Instances of code-mixing and code-switching for communication across groups are common in such multilingual settings. For example, in Dharavi, when a Tamilian speaks with a Marathi speaker in Hindi, he may switch over between Marathi and Hindi, or in case where a Tamilian cannot switch over to Marathi completely, he may mix the two codes namely, Marathi and Hindi. If a Marathi speaker has passive knowledge of Tamil code, mixing between Tamil and Hindi would not be strange. Therefore, while studying LWC in a multilingual setting like Dharavi, the phenomenon of code-mixing and code-switching for the wider communication needs to be explored.

The pilot survey brought out that slum dwellers show a very strong group solidarity in terms of language, caste and region from where they migrate. During the pilot survey, this researcher, while listening to Hindi spoken in Dharavi, could approximately identify the linguistic background of the speaker. This was reinforced by the observations of social workers and a few dwellers in Dharavi. It may thus be fruitful to find out the features of LWC which are identity markers of a particular linguistic group.

II. METHODOLOGY

1. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The present study concentrates only on the study of the use of Hindi, or to be more appropriate, the Bazaari Hindi as a LWC and a brief description of it.

2. Tools for Collection of Data

It was decided to collect the samples of Bazaari Hindi in different situations. The tape recorded conversations and narrations form the bulk of the data. The conversations are mainly of two types. One type is the conversations of the subjects with the interviewer, which show a very careful or formal speech and the second type is that of the free conversations among friends, neighbours or at the gambling dens which show a very casual or informal speech. The topic of discussion also changes in both the situations. Among the samples of casual speech also, the topic changes depending on the background of the participants. For example, educated people from the sample have mostly talked about the problems of slum dwellers about their occupation etc. While uneducated people have talked mostly about affairs of other people, gambling, smuggling, etc. This does not imply that the vice-versa may not happen. However, the present sampel shows a clear cut division among the topics chosen for discussion by educated and uneducated groups. Thus the samples give six-fold variety, viz., conversations Vs. narrations, casual Vs. careful speech and educated Vs. uneducated speech.

Another important factor in the present sample is the linguistic background of the speakers. The total number of speakers who have participated in different conversations is 70. These speakers belong to five different mother tongue backgrounds, namely, Marathi, Tamil, Punjabi, Gujarati and Kannada. However, majority of the speakers are from Marathi and Tamil groups (40 Marathi, 25 Tamil, 2 Gujarati, 2 Punjabi and 1 Kannada). Hence while drawing the conclusions, mainly two linguistic backgrounds are taken into consideration, namely Marathi and Tamil.

Sometimes a speaker shows deviant features than that of the other speakers belonging to their linguistic groups. In such cases occupation and other contacts become important. For example, in the present sample, two Marathi women show deviant features of Bazaari Hindi than that of rest of the Marathi speakers. It is found that these women work in a tannery owned by a Muslim from Hyderabad. It explains the occurrence of features of Dakhini Urdu in their speech which is deviant from the other Marathi speakers.

Apart from the interview situations where the researcher was present, in some cases the cassettes were handed over to the subjects with a request to record the data when they talk among themselves. The data thus collected in the absence of the researcher show more casual and free speech and has proved more fruitful. Apart from conversations and narrations some of the linguistic features of LWC Hindi found in the pilot survey and by the other scholars in different studies were checked with the informants.

Where recording of conversations is not possible, a diary of observations is also maintained. For example, in the shops, in the market or at the roadside, where recording is not possible because of noise, the features were noted down in the diary.

III. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF BAZAARI HINDI

The analysis presented below includes specific statements about the phonological, grammatical and lexical features of Bazaari Hindi which are deviant from the features of Hindi. The deviant features are explained in terms of linguistic background, education and sex, of the respective subjects. Four linguistic backgrounds are covered in the present study: Tamil, Marathi, Hindi and Kannada. As far as the parameter of education is concerned the only significant feature seems to be educated Vs. uneducated, i.e., the ones learnt Hindi formally through schooling and those who acquired Hindi informally.

The discussion presented in this section also includes discussion of the simplification of structure and of new constructions patterned after Marathi or Dravidian languages. It is worth noting that most of the deviations of Bazaari Hindi (BH) occur at the grammatical level.

The presentation has the following pattern. After a statement is made, examples are given to illustrate the statement. An English translation precedes the examples. First, Hindi equivalent of the example is given, followed by BH samples. The literal English translation follows the Bazaari Hindi sample. The following abbreviations are used: 'H' for Hindi, 'BH' for Bazaari Hindi and 'M' for Marathi. Marathi or Kannada equivalent constructions are given only when it explains the pattern of deviations.

1. Phonology

1) Vowel phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are replaced by diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ respectively.

Hindi	*BH*	*Gloss*
ME	məi	I
hE	həi	is
nɔ	nəu	nine
sɔ	səu	hundred

2) Vowel sequence /æ/ is substituted by the diphthong /ay/.

jæge	jayga	will go

3) Aspiration is lost in some cases, is weak in some other cases and is hyper-corrected in a few cases. Most of the hyper-corrected forms were found in the educated Tamil speech. In the BH of educated Marathi speakers, aspiration is generally maintained though it is weak. It may be due to the fact that the variety of Marathi which they speak has a weak aspiration, while the variation of Hindi and Marathi they learn at school has strong aspiration. Aspiration in initial position is maintained by all the speakers.

(a) Loss of aspiration/weak aspiration

Hindi	*BH*	*English*
nəhi	nəi	no
bhaṣa	ba$\overset{2}{s}$a	language
udhər	u$\overset{2}{d}$ər	there
khandan	k^{h}andan	family
khəyal	$\overset{2}{k}$əyal	thought

(b) Hyper-corrected aspiration

itəni	ithəni	this much
kəsəm	khəsəm	swear

cəle jav	chəle jav	get out
urdu	hurdu	Urdu

4) Marathi speakers sometimes use Marathi words by replacing retroflex nasals and laterals by dental ones for the corresponding BH words[3]. These words are found in the BH of other language speakers also. It is also seen that Kannada and Tamil speakers, while mixing lexical items from their respective languages, follow the same phenomenon of replacing the retroflex nasals and laterals by dental ones.

Marathi

BH	*Hindi*	*Marathi*	*English*
mula	muli	muḷa	raddish
həlu	dhire	həḷu	slowly
narəl	nariyəl	narəḷ	coconut
pən	mɔgɔr	pəṇ	but
ghan	gɔnda	ghaṇ	dirty
dana	mungphəli	daṇa	groundnut

Tamil

BH	*Hindi*	*Tamil*	*English*
ənna	bhai	əṇṇa	elder brother
draviḍa munetra kəlgəm		draviḍa munnetra kəḷəghəm	D. M. K. party
tamil	təmil	təmiḷ	Tamil

Kannada

BH	*Hindi*	*Kannada*	*English*
kela hənnu	kela	baḷe həṇṇu	banana fruit
bəle	cuḍiya	bəḷe	bangles

Illustrative sentences:

i) idər kela kaiəur kela hənnu donbi milta
'you get both raw and ripe plantains here'
(lit. here plantain raw and plantain ripe both get)

ii) həmara bəle shap həi
'I have a bangle shop'
(lit. our bangle shop is)
1 2 3 4

5) Marathi speakers use Marathi words by changing dental affricates to palatal ones for the corresponding Hindi words. Some of these words are found in the BH of the other language speakers.

BH	*Hindi*	*Marathi*	*English*
čəwcal	čalu	cəwcal	bad character
čakəri	nəukri	cakri	service
čangla	əččha	cangla	good
čənga	əččha	cangla	good
čawət	məjakiya	cavət	mischievous
čij	čij	čij	anything
čəkli	-	cəkli	a cookie

6) Nasalized vowels are not found in BH speech of any language speaker. Even among the Hindi speakers the use of nasalized vowels is found, very rarely.

BH	*Hindi*	*English*
məy	mɛ̃	I
həy	hɛ̃	is
yəha	yəhã	here
kəha	kəhã	where
-me	-mẽ	in
nai	nəhĩ	no

2. Grammar

2.1. Nouns

(a) Plural Forms

BH shows the absence of plural forms. The singular forms are used most frequently. Only the plural form of masculine nouns ending in **-a** is used occasionally. Often the context makes it clear whether a singular or plural form is used occasionally an adjective of quantity such as **bəhut** 'many' or **səb** 'all' is used. If a numeral precedes the noun, there is no ambiguity. Sometimes **log** 'people' is added to the noun, to mark the plural. In the educated speech, the plural forms are occasionally found in careful speech though they are usually absent in the casual speech. The rules for plural forms could be:

Numeral + noun

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Quantitative adjective + noun}\\ \text{Demonstrative pronoun + log}\\ \text{Noun + log}\end{array}\right]\ 0\ \text{plural}$$

The illustrative examples for these are given below.

i) E. : 'I think all are girls only ...'

H. : mera khəyalse səb lədkiyã hĩ hɛ̃

BH. : mera khəyalse səb lədki həy
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. my thinking from all girls only is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

ii) E. : 'there were ten women with them'

H. : unke sath dəsəurəte thi

BH. : un logka sath đəs bailog tha
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. those people gen. with ten women people was)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

iii) E. : 'these are my children'

H. : ye mere bəčče hɛ̃

BH. : ye həmara bəčča log həy
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. these mine child people is)
1 2 3 4 5

iv) E. : 'their life get spoiled'

H. : unki jindəgi khərab hui

BH. : un log ka jindəgi sala khəllas hua
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. those peole gen. life swear word bad
1 2 3 4 5 6
happened)
7

(b) Oblique Forms

In Hindi post positions or case markers are added to the oblique forms of the nouns. But in BH this condition is obliterated and post positions are directly added to nominative forms. In the careful speech of educated Marathi and Hindi speakers sometimes oblique forms do occur but in casual speech they are dropped. Sometimes in the speech of the same person obliques are used in certain cases and dropped in some other cases.

i) E. : 'my son has high temperature'

H. : mere ləḍke ko tej bukhar hɛ̃

BH. : mera ləḍka ko bəḍa bukhar həy
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. my boy to big fever is)
1 2 3 4 5 6

ii) E. : 'rangoli is drawn in front of the huts of we Tamils'

H. : həm tamil logõ ki jhopḍi ke samne rangoli hoti hɛ̃

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ii) E. : 'rangoli is drawn in front of the huts of we Tamils'

H. : həm tamil logõ ki jhopḍi ke samne rangoli hoti hɛ̃

BH. : həm tamilog ka jhopḍi ka samne koləm hota həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(lit. we Tamil people gen. hut gen. opposite
1 2 3 4 5 6
rangoli happen is)
7 8 9

iii) E. : 'I give only roti to the dog'

H. : həm kutteko rotihi dete hɛ̃

BH. : əpən kuttaku bhakric deta
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. I dog to roti only give)
1 2 3 4 5 6

(c) Gender

Grammatical gender in Hindi shows a two-way opposition, viz., masculine and feminine gender. But BH does not have a grammatical gender. Hindi and Dakhini speakers also seem to maintain the natural genders while speaking BH. Speakers who have learnt Hindi in schools do show a gender concord*. For example, **həwa** 'wind' is used as masculine in BH while it is feminine in Hindi.

Hence in Dharavi both types of sentences can be heard, for instance:

i) E. : 'girls also play cards here'

H. : yəhã lədkiyã bhi phluš khelti hɛ̃

BH. : (a) idər lədkilogbi phluš khelta həy
8
(b) idər lədkilogbi phlus khelti
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. here girl people also card play fem.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
suffix) mas. suffix.
8

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*They also follow gender concord correctly only in case of animate nouns. In case of inanimate nouns, many a time different genders are used.

ii) E. : 'their old woman (mother) died yesterday'

H. : unki buḍhiya kəl mər gəyī̃

BH. : (a) un logka buḍḍhi kəl mər gəya
9
(b) un logki buḍḍhi kəl mər gəyi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. 'those people of old woman yesterday die
1 2 3 4 5 6
went fem. suff. mas. suff.)
7 8 9

The neutralization of grammatical gender may be due to different factors.

(1) As far as grammatical genders of nouns referring to inanimate beings are concerned, there is no uniformity among Hindi speakers from different regions.

(2) Marathi shows a three-way distinction of grammatical gender which leads to confusion as the same set of words may belong to two different genders in these languages. For example, **dukan** 'shop' is feminine in Hindi while it is neuter in Marathi.

(3) Dravidian speakers face problem while speaking Hindi as the gender system of Dravidian languages is entirely different from that of Hindi. In Dravidian languages all the nouns referring to the inanimate and non-human beings are categorised as neuter and only the nouns referring to the human beings follow the natural gender. When the two-way gender system of Hindi creates confusion, Dravidian speakers might tend to neutralise the gender differences by using a uniform **-a** ending form.

2.2. Pronoun

(a) First Person Pronoun

In BH, first person pronouns **/məi/** ∽ **/məy/** (singular and **/həm/**

(plural) are used in usual way as used in Hindi. But the use of **/həm/** for singular is more common than **/məi/**. This is true of some dialects of Hindi also. One more pronoun **/əpən/** is also used in place of **məy** which is the equivalent of Marathi **/apəṇ/** that is the first person plural inclusive pronoun. In Marathi it is also used as the first person singular pronoun for stylistic purpose. The use of **apən** is found in the BH of Tamil, Gujarati, Kannada, Panjabi and Hindi speakers, apart from Marathi speakers. It is to be noted that in the speech of a single person, all the three pronouns **məi**, **əpən** and **həm** are found. **məi** is found in the careful speech, mostly of the educated speakers. **həm** is the most common form used both in careful and casual speech by all apeakers and **pən** is used mostly by younger generations in casual speech.

i) E. : 'I will definitely go for a cinema today'
H. : aj mɛ̃ jərur pikčər jaũnga
BH. : məi aj pikčərku jaygač
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(lit. I today cinema to go will definitely)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

ii) E. : 'I have to go for work'
H. : həmẽ kampər jana hɛ̃
BH. : həmku kamko janeko mənta həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(lit. me to work to go to need is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

iii) E. : 'I do not like such things'
H. : həmẽ ye səb əččha nəhĩ ləgta
BH. : əpənku ye səb əččha ləgta nəi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(lit. I to this all good feel not)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(b) Second Person Pronoun

Hindi has three second person pronouns namely, **tu**, **tum** and **ap**. In BH, of these only one, viz., **tum** is frequently used, **tu** is occasionally and **ap** is rarely used. Among uneducated speakers of BH frequency of **tu** is more while among educated the use of **ap** is comparatively more. Educated speakers, in formal situations and in careful speech use **ap** but in the course of time, switch over to **tum**. Hindi speakers use **ap** comparatively more than those of Marathi and Tamil speakers while speaking BH. The following three sentences are found in the speech of the same person (an educated Marathi speaker).

i) E. : 'you ask me anything'
H. : ap həmse kuc̆hbhi puc̆hiye
BH. : tum həmko kuc̆hbhi puc̆hiye
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. you me to anything ask)
1 2 3 4 5

ii) E. : 'you were to tell us about your work'
H. : ap həmẽ apne kamke baremẽ kuch kəhənewalī̃ thī̃
BH. : ap həmko tumare kamke bareme kuch kəhənewala the
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
(lit. you me to your work gen. about in some tell
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
was)
11

iii) E. : 'but you did not tell me anything about your work
as yet'
H. : məgər əbhitək to apne həmẽ apke kamke bareme kuch
kəha nəhī̃
BH. : məgər əbhitəkbi tum tumara kamka bareme həm ko
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
kuchbi nəi bola
13 14 15 16

(lit. but now till also you your work gen. about
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
in I to something also not told)
10 11 12 13 14 15 16

(c) Third Person Pronoun

The third person singular pronoun **wo** is more common than the plural form **we** irrespective of the number of persons or objects referred to by the speaker. The rare occurrence of **un**, the oblique form of plural pronoun **we** is also found in place of **we**. This usage is found in the speech of two uneducated Tamil tannery workers. However, the frequency of occurrence is rare and it is used in variation with **wo**. Illustrative examples of these are given below.

i) E. : 'those people may be from among us'
H. : we log həmhi mese koi honge
BH. : we log hemmesehi koi hoga
(lit. that people us in from ephatic any may be)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ii) E. : 'they had come to our house'
H. : we həmare ghər aye the
BH. : wo log həmara ghərko aya tha
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(lit. that people we gen. house to come past)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

iii) E. : 'they jumped and ran away'
H. : we kud kər bhag gəye
BH. : wo log kud marke bhag gəya
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(lit. that people jump hit (geruntive) ran went)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hindi has two demonstrative pronouns namely, **yeh** and **wah** with the corresponding plural forms namely, **ye** and **we**. The BH speakers do not make a distinction in number. The most frequently used forms are **/ye/** and **/we/**.

(d) Oblique Forms of Pronoun

(1) First Person Pronoun

In Hindi, post positions are added to the oblique forms of pronouns as in the case of nouns. However, different oblique forms occur before different post positions and case suffixes. For example, the oblique forms of the first person pronoun **mɛ̃** are: **mujh** before dative and ablative case suffixes and **me** before genitive suffixes. In case of first person plural pronoun **həm**, the oblique forms are either **həma** or the post positions are directly added. In BH, in case of first person singular pronoun a single form, viz., **me-** is used before all suffixes and post positions. The distinction between **mujh-** and **me-** is found among the careful speech of the educated. The oblique form **əpne-** of the reflexive pronoun **əpna** is often used in BH, in place of first person singular pronoun.

i) E. : 'do not ask me'
H. : mujhse mət pucho yar!
BH. : mereko mət puch yar!
(lit. I ob. to don't ask, friend)
1 2 3 4 5 6

ii) E. : 'I remember that'
H. : mujhe/mujhke yad həi ki ...
BH. : mereko yad həi ki ...
(lit. me to memory is that ...)
1 2 3 4 5

iii) E. : 'I have two children'
H. : mere do bəcce həi
BH. : mereko do bəcca log həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(lit. I ob. to two child people is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

iv) E. : 'every day I have to go to school at 9 o' Clock'
H. : mujhe hərroj nəu bəje skul jana hota həi
BH. : mereko hərroj nəu bejeko skul jana məngta həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
(lit. I ob. to every day nine time to school go
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
need is)
11 12

(2) Second Person Pronoun

The oblique forms of second person singular pronoun **/tu/** are: **tujh-**, **ter-** and **tere-**, and the plural honorific pronoun **/tum/** are: **/tum-/** and **/tumha-/** are comparable to those of first person pronouns. In case of second person also neutralization takes place and only **tere**, **tumko** and **tumare-** forms are used, most frequently. Sentences illustrating these forms are given below.

i) E. : 'are you coming for a movie?'
H. : tum pikčər aoge kya?
BH. : tereko pikčərko aneka həi kya?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(lit. you ob. to picture to come to is what?)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

ii) E. : 'you have to go to office tomorrow, isn't it?
H. : tumhe kəl ophis jana həi na?
BH. : tumko kəl ophisko janeka həi na?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(lit. you to tomorrow office to go to is no)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

iii) E. : 'I will tell you to go from here only once'
(i.e., first and last times)

BH. : tereku ekic bar bolta həm janeku
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(lit. you to one only time tell I go dative)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

iv) E. : 'what do you want here?'

H. : tumhẽ yəhã kya cahiye?

BH. : tumku kya məngta idər re?
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. you to what want here to?)
1 2 3 4 5 6

(3) Third Person Pronoun

In Hindi the oblique forms of third person singular obviate pronoun **/wo/** is **/us-/** and proximate **/ve/** is **/is-/**. In BH for both pronouns, the oblique form used is **/us-/**. The use of **/is-/** is very rare. In case of third person plural pronoun **we**, Hindi has two oblique forms, **un-** and **unho-** before suffixes and postpositions. **unho-** is used with **-ne** which has a restricted use. In BH use of **/unho-/** is limited to the educated speakers. Sometimes even they add **-ne** suffix to **un** log than to **unho-**. **un-** log is an instance of double plural. Suffixes or postpositions are not directly added to **un-**. Among the speech of the educated, both forms are found, but **un log** is the more frequent form.

i) E. : 'Madrasi people came into blows with those people'

H. : unke sath madrasiyonki bəhut marpiṭ hui

BH. : un logka sath madrasi logka bəhut marpiṭ huwa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(lit. those people dat. with Madras people dat.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very blows happened)
8 9 10

ii) E. : 'they chopped his head in front of us'

H. : unhone həmare samne uska sir uḍa diya

BH. : un logne həmara samne uska munḍi uḍa diya
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(lit. those people instrumental suf. we to front
1 2 3 4 5 6
his head fly gave)
7 8 9 10

iii) E. : 'we do not know anything about them'

H. : həm unke bareme kuch nəhi jante hɛ̃

BH. : həm log un logka bareme kuch janta nəi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(lit. I people they people dat. about in some
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
know no)
9 10

iv) E. : 'those neighbouring people are paṛeya's[4]. They have a liquor shop'

H. : we paske log pəreya həi. unki daruki dukan həi

BH. : wo log pəreya. un logka daruka dukan həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(lit. those people pareya. those people dat.
1 2 3 4 5 6
liquor dat. shop is)
7 8 9 10

(4) Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun **əpna** as such is not used in BH. In the present data there are few occurrence of the reflexive pronoun in the speech of the educated Marathi and Hindi speakers. In these cases it looks as if it is a translation of Marathi than Hindi construction.

i) E. : 'he has gone to his village'

H. : wo əpne gaw gəya hua həi

BH. : wo uska gaukọ gəyela həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. he his dat. village to gone have is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ii) E. : 'I live with my uncle'
H. : mɛ̃ əpne mamake sath rəhta hũ
BH. : həm həmara mamaka sath rəhta
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. I my uncle to with live)
1 2 3 4 5 6

iii) E. : 'what do you call your father?'
(how do you address you father?)
H. : tum əpne bapko kya kəh kər bulate ho?
M. : tu tujhya bapala kəsə bolavtos?
BH. : tum tumara bapko kya bulata həi?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(lit. you your father to what call is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

iv) E. : 'everybody closed their respective huts.'
H. : səbne əpni jhobpḍiya bənd kərli
M. : səgḷyanni apapli jhopḍi bənd keli
1 2 3 4 5
*BH. : səb əpapna jhopḍi bənd kiya
(lit. all respective hut close did)
1 2 3 4 5

v) E. : 'he will invite (his) own fellow villagers and
friends, and will take with him'
H. : ... əpne gawwalonko əur dostonko bulayega əur
sathme le jayega
BH. : əpna gauwaleko, əpna phrendwaleko bulayega əpna
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
sath leke jayega ...
9 10 11

---

*This example showing phrase structure of reflexive pronoun in BH has more similarity with Marathi construction.

(lit. his villeger to, his friend to, will call,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
his with take will go
8 9 10 11

2.3. Case Suffixes and Post Positions

The distribution of case suffixes and post positions seem to simplify the structure of BH. Suffix **-ko/ku** is usually used in place of the suffixes **-se, -e, -me, liye** and **-Ø**, though these suffixes also occur in BH occasionally. This shows that in certain contexts the function of these case suffixes or post positions have been taken over by the single suffix **-ko/ku**. The examples show that whenever Marathi has **-la** suffix for the corresponding Hindi suffixes and post positions, BH speakers replace these Hindi suffixes with **ko/ku** suffixes. Sometimes Standard Marathi shows other than **-la** suffix, but certain dialects of Marathi show **-la** suffix. The use of **-ko/ku** suffix is common to non-Marathi speakers of Dharavi also. However, further investigation is needed to identify the contexts, in which neutralization has taken place.

(a) /se ∽ -ko/ku /

i) E. : 'do not ask me'
H. : mujhse mət pucho yar
M. : məla vicaru nəkos
BH. : mere**ko/ku** mət puchə/yar
(lit. me to don't ask friend)
1 2 3 4 5

ii) E. : 'I cannot do this work'
H. : merese ye kam nəhi hoga
M. : məla/aplyala he kam jemayc/vhayəc nahi
BH. : mere**ko/ku** ye kam hoga/jəmega nəi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. me to the work will happen/will not)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(b) /-liye ∽ -ko/ku/

i) E. : 'wait a little for me also'
H. : mere**liye** bhi jəra ṭheh ro
M. : (Non-st.) məla/majhyasathi pən jəra tham re /
(St.) majhyasathi pən jəra thamb re
BH. : mereku/**ko** bi jəra ṭher re
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. me to also little stop address form)
1 2 3 4 5 6

ii) E. : 'he brought a saree for me'
H. : wo mere**liye** sari laya
M. : (Non-st.) to mə**la** sari aṇla /
(St.) tyanə məla saḍi aṇli
BH. : wo mere**ko** sari laya
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. he me to saree brought)
1 2 3 4 5

(c) /-mẽ ∽ -ko/ku/

i) E. : 'he goes to his village once a year'
H. : wo bərəs**me** ek bar gãw jata hɛ̃
M. : to vərsala ekda gavala jato /
to vərsatuṇ ekda gavala jato
BH. : wo bərəs**ko** ek bar gawko jata
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. he year to one time village to goes)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ii) E. : 'he drinks twice a day'
H. : wo din**me** do bar pita hɛ̃
M. : to divsala don da pito
to divsatun donda pito

*BH. : wo dinko do bar pita
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. he day to two time drinks)
1 2 3 4 5 6

(d) /-ě ~ -ko/ku/

i) E. : 'I have two children'

H. : mere do bəčče hɛ̃

M. : məḷa don mul ahet

BH. : mereko/ku do bəčča log həi
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. me to two child people are)
1 2 3 4 5 6

ii) E. : 'why did you call me?'

H. : apne/tumne mujhe kisliye bulaya?

M. : tu məla kəšala bolauləs?

BH. : tum mereko/ku kayko/ku bulaya?
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. you me to why to called)
1 2 3 4 5 6

(e) Case of Destination

In Hindi, suffix -ko is optional in case of destination but it is obligatory in BH.

i) E. : 'I came yesterday evening at 6 O' clock'

H. : mɛ̃ kəl šam(ko) čhe bəje aya

M. : (Non-st.) mi kal sancạla sa vajta alo /
(St.) mi kal səndhyakali səha vajta alo

BH. : məi kəl samko che bəje/bəjeko aya
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. I yesterday evening to six O' clock to came)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

---

*In the deletion of the auxiliary verb hɛ̃, the BH follows the Marathi pattern.

ii) E. : 'I go to school everyday morning'

H. : mɛ̃ hərroj səbere skul jata hū̃

M. : mi roj səkali šalela jato

BH. : məi roj subbe subbe skulko jata
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. I everyday morning morning school to go)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(f) Genitive Case Suffix

In Hindi, the genitive form of the beneficiary occurs before the verb **mədəd kər**. But in BH it is always the dative construction. For example:

i) E. : 'you help him'

H. : tum uski mədəd kəro

BH. : tum **usko/ku** mədəd kər
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. you him to help do)
1 2 3 4 5

The parallel constructions are found in Marathi as well as in Dravidian languages.

T. : aw nuku utəwi cey

M. : tu tyala mədət kər
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. you he to help do)
1 2 3 4 5

(g) /-pe ∽-ko/ku /

Post position **/-pe/** is also replaced by **ko/ku** in BH as can be seen in following example.

i) E. : 'my mother has invited you for food tomorrow'

H. : meri mane apko/tumhẽ kəl khanepe bulaya hɛ̃

M. : amča ayina tumhala udya jevayla bolavlə ahe

BH. : həmara ma tumko kəl khaneko aneko bola yəi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(lit. our mother you to tomorrow food to come to
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
tell is)
10 11

ii) E. : 'we had been to his house for food'

H. : həm uske ghər khanepe gəye the

M. : amhi tyaca gəri jewayla gelo hoto

BH. : həm log uska ghərko khaneko gəya tha
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(lit. I people his house to eat to go was)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2.4. Adjectives

In Hindi some adjectives are variable, i.e., the final segment of the adjective changes according to the gender and number of the following noun. Such variable adjectives also have an oblique form. In BH no obliques of adjectives are used. However, oblique formation is occasionally found in the educated speech.

i) E. : 'will that building on the side also fall?'

H. : wo pəḍoski/sathwali bilḍingbhi ṭuṭ jayegi, kya?

BH. : wo bajuka bilḍingbhi ṭuṭ jayega kya?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. that side of building also fall go what?)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ii) E. : 'he is in my house'

H. : wo mere ghərme hɛ̃

BH. : wo mera ghərme həi
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. he me of house in is)
1 2 3 4 5 6

iii) E. : 'he is my elder brother's son'

H. : wo mere bəḍe bhaijika beṭa hɛ̃

BH. : wo mera bəḍa bhiika beṭa həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. he me of big brother of son is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

In Hindi, the third person pronominal forms which also function as demonstrative adjectives follow the same pattern of oblique forms as in case of variable adjectives. However, the oblique forms of demonstrative pronouns are rarely used in BH. These forms are found in the careful speech of educated speakers including Hindi speakers of Dharavi but are not found in the samples of speech of Tamil and Marathi uneducated speakers.

i) E. : 'that boy was dismissed from school in connection with theft'

H. : us ləkḍkeko čorike iljaməme skulse nikal diya

BH. : wo ləḍkako čorika ləphḍame skulmese nikal diya
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(lit. that boy to theft of aligation in school
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
in from remove gave)
9 10 11 12

ii) E. : 'this girl is married'

H. : is ləḍkiki šadi hui həi

BH. : ye ləḍkika šadi hua həi
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. this girl of marriage happened is)
1 2 3 4 5 6

iii) E. : 'there were ten women with them'

H. : unke sath dǝs ǝurǝte thi

BH. : un log ka sath dǝs bai log tha
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. that people to with ten woman people was)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

2.5. Emphatic Particles and Conjunctions

Some emphatic particles and conjunctions used in BH are not found in Hindi. However, similar forms occur in Marathi, Punjabi and Dakhini Urdu. It is not possible to state whether it is a retention of a feature of either Dakhini Urdu, Panjabi or Marathi. Among the emphatic particles, **c** which is equivalent of **hi** in Hindi is commonly used. The conjunctions most frequently used are **pǝn** 'but' **ki** 'or' and are comparable to **pǝrǝntu** or **mǝgǝr** and **ya** in Hindi.

i) E. : 'as you sow as you reap'

H. : **yǝhã** kǝro ǝur **yǝhĩ** bhǝro

BH. : **idhǝr** kǝro ǝur **idhǝrǝc** bhǝro
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. here do and here only fill)
1 2 3 4 5 6

ii) E. : 'I don't understand at all!'

H. : kya sala mere sǝmǝjhme**hi** nǝhi ata hɛ̃

BH. : kya mera sǝmǝjhmec ata nǝi sala
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. what mine understanding in emphatic come
1 2 3 4 5 6
no swear word)
7 8

iii) E. : 'but he had said ...'

H. : **mǝgǝr** usne kǝha tha ...

BH. : pən wo bola tha ...
1 2 3 4

(lit. but he tell was)
1 2 3 4

iv) E. : 'I will go, but after 4 O'clock

H. : mɛ̃ jaũga məgər čar bəjeke bad

BH. : məi jayega pən čar bəjeka bad
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. I will go but four O'clock gen.suff. after)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

v) E. : 'are you coming with me or not?'

H. : tum mere sath aoge ya nəhi?

BH. : tum mera sath ayega ki nəi?
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. you me with will come or not)
1 2 3 4 5 6

2.6. Verb

The paradigms of verbs in various tenses in Hindi are generally simplified in BH and only one form in each tense is used. However, the Marathi speakers, mainly of the educated, and the Hindi speakers do maintain gender suffixes occasionally. It was observed that Tamil speakers show only one form in each tense. In all the cases a single form is used, i.e., third person singular masculine form.

(a) Present Tense

(1) First Person Singular

i) E. : 'I work here only'

H. : mɛ̃ yəhĩ kam kərəta hũ (masc.)

mɛ̃ yəhĩ kam kərəti hũ (fem.)

BH_1 : məi/həm idərič kam kərta (həi) (both F & M)
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. I here only work do)
1 2 3 4 5

In BH the forms given above of present tense, where copula is optional and gender distinction is neutralised are of high frequency. But in the speech of educated Marathi and Hindi speakers the following forms can be found.

BH$_2$ (Educated) :
məi/həm idəric kam kərta (həi) (masc.)
məi/həm idəric kam kərti (həi) (fem.)

The comparable Dakhani Urdu forms are given below.

DU. : mɛ̃ idəric kam kərtũ (hũ) (masc.)
mɛ̃ idəric kam kərtĩ (hũ) (fem.)
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. I here only work do)
1 2 3 4 5

(2) First Person Plural

E. : 'we always eat roti'
H. : həm həmesha roṭi khate hɛ̃ (masc.)
həm həmesha roṭi khati hɛ̃ (fem.)
BH$_1$: həm log həmesha roti khata (həi) (both M & F)
BH$_2$ (Educated) :
həm log həmesha roṭi khata (həi) (masc.)
həm log həmesha roṭi khati (həi) (fem.)
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. we people always roti eat)
1 2 3 4 5

BH$_2$ forms are found in Dakkhini Urdu also. These forms are found in the speech of two uneducated Marathi women who work in tanneries which are owned by Muslims from Hyderabad. It could be a direct borrowing from Dakkhini or could be an influence of Marathi which does not have gender distinction in first person plural forms.

(3) Second Person Singular

i) E. : 'at what time do you go to office everyday'

H. : tum roj kitne bəje ophis jate ho? (masc.)

tum roj kitne bəje ophis jati ho? (fem.)

BH_1 : tum roj kitna bəje(ko) ophisko jata (həi)? (both M & F) .

BH_2 : tum roj kitna bəje(ko) ophisko jata (həi)? (masc.)

tum roj kitna bəje(ko) ophisko jati (həi)? (fem.)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(lit. you everyday what time(to) office(to) go is)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

BH_2 forms were again found in the speech of some women mentioned above. The gender distinction in second person singular verb forms are maintained in both Marathi and Dakkhini Urdu.

(4) Second Person Plural

i) E. : 'how much do you (people) earn everyday?

H. : tum log hərroj kitna kəmate ho? (masc.)

tum log hərroj kitna kəmati ho? (fem.)

BH. : tum log rojana kitha kəmata (həi)? (both M & F)
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. you people how much earn (is))
1 2 3 4 5 6

(5) Third Person Singular

i) E. : 'once a year he goes to the village'

H. : wo bərəsme ek bar gaw jata (həi) (masc.)

wo bərəsme ek bar gaw jati (həi) (fem.)

BH_1 : wo bərəsko ek bar gawko jata (həi) (both M & F)

BH_2 : wo bərəsko ek bar gawko jata (masc.)

wo bərəsko ek bar gawko jati (fem.)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(lit. he year to one time village to go)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

- BH$_2$ occurrences are rare and found only in the speech of the same two women from the sample referred to earlier.

(6) Third Person Plural

i) E. : 'they always quarrel'

H. : we həmesha jhəgəḍte hɛ̃ (masc.)

we həmesha jhəgəḍti hɛ̃ (fem.)

BH. : we log həmesha jhəgḍa kərta (həy) (both M & F)
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. they people always fight do (is))
1 2 3 4 5 6

It was interesting to note that the gender distinction found in the speech of the two uneducated women was absent in the case of third person plural forms; though Dakkhini Urdu speakers do maintain gender distinction in third person plural.

(b) Future Tense

In the case of future tense also the same pattern of present tense is followed, where many forms are neutralized to a single form. Example:

Verb – ja 'to go'

		Hindi	*BH*
I Person (sg.):			
(M)	:	mɛ̃ jaũnga	məi/həm jayga
(F)	:	mɛ̃ jaũngi	
II Person (pl.):			
		həm jayẽnge	həm log jayga

		Hindi	*BH*
II. Person (sg.):			
(M)	:	tu jayega	tu jayga
(F)	:	tu jayegi	tu jaygi*
II Person (pl.):			
(M)	:	tum jaoge	tum jayga
(F)	:	tum jaogi	tum jaygi*
(M)	:	ap jayege	ap jayga
(F)	:	ap jayegi	ap jaygi*
III Person (sg.):			
(M)	:	wo jayega	wo jayga
(F)	:	wo jayegi	wo jaygi*
III Person (pl.):			
		we jayẽnge	we log jayga
		we jayẽngi	wo log jaygi*

The forms shown with asterisk (*) are found only in the educated careful speech of Marathi and Hindi speakers but not a single instance of this type was found in the speech of Tamil speakers. They uniformly use the **-a** ending form.

Occasionally the future tense meaning of the verb is indicated in BH by the addition of the suffix **wala** to the infinitive oblique form of the verb. Such constructions do not occur in Hindi.

i) E. : 'I will go to village tomorrow'

H. : mɛ̃ kəl gaw jaũnga

BH. : məi kəl gawko janewala həi

1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. I tomorrow village to goer is)

1 2 3 4 5 6

(c) Past Tense

In the past tense also general pattern of BH, of replacing all verbal forms by a single number-gender /-a/ form is followed. For Example:

	Hindi	*BH*
I Person (sg.):		
(M) :	mɛ̃ gəya tha	məi/həm gəya tha
(F) :	mɛ̃ gəyi thi	məi/həm gəyi thi*
I Person (pl.):		
	həm gəye the	həm log gəya tha
II Person (sg.):		
	tu gəya tha/thi	tu gəya tha
	tum gəye the/thĩ	tum gəya tha
	ap gəye the/thĩ	ap gəya tha
II Person (pl.):		
	tum gəye the/thi	tum log gəya tha
III Person (sg.):		
(M) :	wo gəya tha	wo gəya tha
(F) :	wo gəyi thi	wo gəyi thi*
III Person (pl.):		
	wo gəye the	wo log gəya tha

The forms marked (*) are used only by the educated Marathi and Hindi speakers in careful speech. Even in casual conversation they generally use the -a ending forms.

Occasionally the past tense meaning of verb is indicated in BH by the addition of the suffix -yela to the past tense form of the verb. Such constructions do not occur in Hindi.

i) E. : 'where had you gone yesterday'
H. : tum kəl kəha gəye the?
BH. : tum kəl kidhər gəyela tha?
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. you tomorrow when went(n) was)
1 2 3 4 5 6

ii) E. : 'I had come here earlier'
H. : mɛ̃ pəhle yəhã aya tha
BH. : həm pəyle idər ayela tha
1 2 3 4 5 6
(lit. we first here come(n) was)
1 2 3 4 5 6

The auxiliary verbs **hona** 'to be' also follows the same pattern of the main verbs. Here also only one form is used in each of the present, past and future tenses. The form **həy** is used with any subject in the present tense, **tha** in the past tense and **hoga** or **hoyega** in the future tense.

i) E. : 'you are elder to me'
H. : tum merese bəḍe ho
BH. : tum merese bəḍa həy
1 2 3 4 5
(lit. you me than elder is)
1 2 3 4 5

ii) E. : 'we were rich before we came here'
H. : yəhã aneke pəhəle həm əmir the
BH. : idər aneke pəyle həm log bhot əmir tha
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(lit. here came to before I people very rich were)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

iii) E. : 'he will have much trouble'
H. : uske bəhot təkliph hogi

BH. : usko bhut təkliph hoga/hoyega
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. him to lot trouble will be)
1 2 3 4 5

3. Syntax

3.1. Copula

BH shows NP + NP type of constructions which are not possible in Hindi.

i) E. : 'he is my brother'
H. : ye mera bhai hɛ̃
BH. : ye mera bhai
1 2 3

(lit. this my brother)
1 2 3

In these constructions copula is usually not taken while in Hindi copula is obligatory.

3.2. Relative Participle

In the past tense, the finite verb is followed by the relative participle marker -la in BH. This is not possible in Hindi. This could be the influence of Marathi relative participle construction. These types of constructions are found in the speech of both Hindi and Tamil speakers. Example:

i) E. : 'the one who is sitting outside is Ashoka'
H. : wo jo bahər bəitha həi wo Ashok hɛ̃
BH. : wo bahər bəithela admi Ashok həi
M. : to baher bəslela mulga Ashok ahe
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. that male outside sit the one boy
1 2 3 4 5
Ashok is)
6 7

3.3. Negation

(a)/nahi/

The tendency to use the negative at the end of a sentence found in BH is a common feature of Marathi. Further, in Hindi, the negation of an action is indicated by the negative particle **nəhi** 'not' for all the tenses while the negative particle **na** 'not' is used with imperative and optative. In all the negative constructions in Hindi the negative particles always occur before the main verb and the use of auxiliary verb is optional.

i) E. : 'why did not you do this work?'
H. : tumne ye kam kyũ nəhi kiya?
BH. : tum ye kam kayku kiya nay?
M. : tu he kam ka kelə nahis?

ii) E. : 'but he will not drink liquor'
H. : məgər wo shərab nəhi piega
BH. : pən wo daru piyega nəi
M. : pəṇ to daru piṇar nahi

iii) E. : 'I do not know'
H. : mujhe nəhi malum
BH. : mereko malum nəhi
M. : məla mahit nahi

iv) E. : 'I do not want to listen to anything'
H. : mɛ̃ kuch nəhi sunna čahta
BH. : mereku/ko kuch sunneko məngta nai
M. ; məla kahi əikaycə nahi ahe

(b) /nəko/

Negative particle **nəko** is used in BH for imperative negative constructions which does not occur in Hindi. This particle could be either the influence of Marathi or Dakkhini Urdu. This particle is used in both Marathi and Dakkhini Urdu to express the same meaning.

i) E. : 'do not go (imp.)'
H. : tum mət jao
BH. : tum ja nəko
M. : tu jau nəkos
DU. : tum ja nəko / tum jako nəko

ii) E. : 'do not say such thing to him (imp.)'
H. : usko əisa mət kəho
BH. : usko əisa bat bolu nəko
M. : tyala əsə bolu nəkos
DU. : usku əise bata bolu nəko

3.4. Ergative Constructions

In Hindi sentences where the transitive verbs occur in the past tense the subject takes the agentive suffix -ne and verbs have concord with the number-gender-person of object. However, in BH agentive suffix is not taken.

i) E. : 'I beat him'
H. : məine use mara
1 2 3 4 5
BH. : həm usko mara
1 3 4 5
(lit. I agentive suff. he accusative beat)
1 2 3 4 5

3.5. Verb Modifiers

Although nouns are modified in Hindi by adjectival forms derived by adding the suffix -ka, -ki, -ke to the oblique infinitive verb forms, the modifiers do not occur as predicatives in constructions with the verb 'to be'. In BH such constructions are very common. Another feature is that in these constructions the subject is in the dative case. This may be the influence of Marathi, as such constructions are found in Marathi also.

i) E. : 'I want to go to movie' or
'I intend to go to movie'

H. : mɛ̃ pičər jana cahta hũ

məera pikčər janeka irada hɛ̃

BH. : həmku pikčərko janeka həi

M. : məla pikčərla jayəc ahe

ii) E. : 'he wants to sit near you'

H. : use tumhare pas bəiṭhna hɛ̃

BH. : usko tumara pas bəithneka həi

M. : tyala tujha jəwəḷ bəsayəc ahe

3.6. Interrogation

Some of the interrogative constructions are different in BH from those of Hindi. They mainly differ in three ways:

(1) Change in the place of interrogative particle in a sentence.

(2) Adding infinitive suffix to the interrogative particle.

(3) Absence of interrogative particle by marking the interrogation with a raising intonation.

(a) Change in the Place of Interrogative Particle

The place of the interrogative particles in some types of sentences in Hindi could be either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, whereas in BH, the interrogative particle in the corresponding sentences ocur only at the sentence final position. Same is the pattern in Marathi. Example:

i) E. : 'are you coming?'

H. : tum aoge kya? / kya tum aoge?

tum a rəhe ho kya? / kya tum a rəhe ho?

BH. : tum ata kya?
M. : tu yetos ka?

(b) Addition of Suffix

In BH, the interrogative is also formed by suffixing the dative case marker to the interrogative particle. This feature is found in Marathi. Example:

1) Interrogative particle -**kya/kyo** 'why'

i) E. : 'why do you fight unnecessarily?'
H. : (tum) kyõ khamkha jhəgəḍte ho?
BH. : tum log kayku/ko khalipili jhəgḍa kərta?
M. : tuhmi kəshala ugicəc bhanḍəṇ kərta
(lit. you people why dative unnecessary fight
1 2 3 4 5 6
do?)
7

2) Interrogative particle **kəb** 'when'

i) E. : 'when was that match?'
H. : wo, mec kəb thi
BH. : wo mec kəbko tha?

(c) Absence of Interrogative Particle

In BH affirmative sentences are used as interrogative sentences without using any interrogative particle with the change in intonation pattern. Such constructions are not possible in Hindi.

i) E. : 'Do you go to school?'
H. : kya tum skul jate ho?
1 2 3 4 5
BH. : tum skul jata?
2 3 4
(lit. what you school go is?)
1 2 3 4 5

4. Lexicon - Semantics

In BH certain lexical items are used in larger semantic range than in Hindi, i.e., when Hindi has two separate words having related meanings, each word with a restricted range of distribution, a single word in BH takes over the distribution of both the corresponding words in Hindi. Example:

4.1. Different Semantic Range

(a) pəd 'to fall' and **gir** 'to fall'

In BH **gir** is also used in the context where only **pəd** can be used in Hindi.

i) E. : 'you will know after a month'
H. : tumhe ek məhineke bad malum pəḍega
BH. : tumko ek mhinaka bad malum girega

ii) E. : 'today it rained heavily'
H. : aj bəhut barish hui
BH. : aj bəhut barish gira
M. : aj khup paus pəḍla

(b) marna 'to beat'

In BH **marna** is used in the sense of 'to drink', 'to tell', 'to steal', along with the original meaning, 'to beat', whereas in Hindi there are separate words for each meaning.

i) E. : 'he drinks whisky daily'
H. : wo roj wiski **pita** hɛ̃
BH. : wo roj wiski **marta** həi

ii) E. : 'he says good dialogues'
H. : wo əčče ḍaylag **bolta** hɛ̃
BH. : wo əčča ḍaylag **marta** həi

iii) E. : 'he picks pocket'
H. : wo pakiṭ **curata** hɛ̃
BH. : wo pakiṭ **marta** həi

(c) bəta 'to tell'

In BH this verb **bəta** 'to show' has the distributional range of three words in Hindi. For example:

i) E. : 'show us a movie today, friend!'
H. : aj ek pikčər **dikha** yar!
BH. : Sale! aj ek pikčər **bəta** yar!

ii) E. : 'the other man showed knife'
H. : dusrene chura dikhaya
BH. : dusra admi chura bətaya

iii) E. : 'sing a song!'
H. : ek gana **gao**
BH. : ek gana **bəta** yar!

iv) E. : 'give me some money'
H. : mujhe thoḍa pəisa **dedo**
BH. : mereko thoḍa pəisa **bəta** yar!

(d) hona 'to be'

This verb is used only in the sense of 'to be' in Hindi while in BH it can also be used to express meaning 'to want'

i) E. : 'what do you want?'
H. : tumhe kya cahiye?
BH. : tumko kya hona?

ii) E. : 'whom do you want?'
H. : tumhe kəun chahiye?
BH. : tumko kəun hona?

(e) məngna

This verb does not occur in Hindi while the nearest possible verb is **mangna** 'to ask' but here it is used in the sense of 'want'.

i) E. : 'I want tea'
H. : mujhe čay čhahiye
BH. : apənku čay məngta həy

ii) E. : 'here action is needed not talks'
H. : yəhã kam čhahiye bate nəhi
BH. : idər ekshən məngta, khali bəkbək nay

4.2. Borrowed Vocabulary

The vocabulary items borrowed from other languages are found in abundance in BH. The following examples are mainly from Marathi.

(a) bhənkəs 'nonsense', 'bore', 'mischief'

i) E. : 'moovie is bad'
H. : sala, pikčər bekar hɛ̃
BH. : sala pikčər bhənkəs həi

ii) E. : 'do not behave like that with me'
H. : mere sath ais bərtaw mət kər
BH. : mere sath bhənkəs mət kər

(b) maṇḍi 'beautiful'

i) E. : 'he!(she) is beautiful like Hema'
H. : əre bilkul hema jəisi sundər hɛ̃
BH. : əre hema jəisi mandi həi
(lit. hei, Hema like beautiful is)

(c) khunnəs 'anger/bad terms'

i) E. : 'these days, I am not in good terms with him'
H. : mɛ ajkəl uske sath gusṡeme hũ

BH. : sala, həm ajkəl uska sath khunnəsme həi

(d) nərdərni 'course'

i) E. : 'somebody must have cursed or else must have done black magic'

H. : ya to kisine shrap diya hoga ya kisine jadu ṭona kiya hoga

BH. : kuch to ḅi nərdərni həi nəi to koi admi kərni
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
kiya hoga
11 12

(lit. some if also cruse is no if somebody black
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
magic done have)
11 12

(e) bewda 'shərab'

i) H. : ərvind bəhut shərab pita hɛ̃

BH. : ərwind to bəhut bewda marta həy

(lit. ərvind very much liquor beat is)
1 2 3 4 5 6

(f) khalipili 'unnecessary'

i) E. : 'girl, do not scream unnecessarily'

H. : (bekarme shor mət məcao)
1 2 3 4

BH. : khalipili bomdi mət mar, sali ...
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. unnecessarily shout not beat, swear
1 2 3 4
word a girl)
5

(g) vanda 'problem'

i) E. : 'there is no problem'

H. : koi **dikkət** nəhi

BH. : kuch to **vanda** nay

ii) E. : There is no problem to get a heroine

H. : hiroyin milna koi **mushkil** bat nəi

BH. : hiroyin milneka to **vanda** nəi

(h) bindhas 'marvellous'

i) E. : 'Aruna Irani has done a marvellous role'

H. : əruna iranine bəhut gəjəbka kam kiya həi

BH. : əruna irani bəḍa biṇdhas kam kiyela həi

(i) ləphḍa 'affair'

i) E. : 'what happened to that affair of bread selling women?'

H. : wo pawwalika kya hua?

BH. : pawwalika ləphḍa kya hua?
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. bread seller (F) of affair what happened?)
1 2 3 4 5

(j) həlkəṭ 'vagabond'

i) E. : 'the family gets destroyed if there is a bad woman in the family'

BH. : ek həlkəṭ əurət həi to ghərka sətyanas hota həi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(lit. one had woman is then house of destruction
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
happen is)
9 10

4.3. Borrowing of Phrases

(a) waṭ ləgaya 'to destroy' or 'to spoil'

i) E. : 'those people spoiled the game'

H. : unhone pura gem bərbad kiya

BH. : wo log sala waṭ lagaya gemka

M. : te lok khelaca waṭ lawala
(non-st.)

(b) bomḍi mar 'to announce', 'screem'

i) E. : 'he would make it public in whole village'
H. : wo pure gawme kəhta phirega
BH. : pura gawme bomdi marke phirta sala

(c) bənḍəl mar 'to tell lies'

i) E. : 'he always tells lies'
H. : wo həmesha jhuṭh bolta hɛ̃
BH. : wo həmesha bənḍəl marta həi

4.4. Mixing of vocabulary items from one language and suffixes from another language.

Rare examples of coining words by mixing Ø vocabulary items from one language and suffixes from another were found. Some of the examples are illustrated below.

(a) Bound forms of Hindi are suffixed to English noun/verb roots, as in:

ḍance + ta

i) E. : 'jitendra dances very well'
H. : jitendra bəhut əččha nacta hɛ̃
BH. : jitendra bəhut əččha ḍansta həi

fit + ta

i) E. : 'this blouse is fit for me (suits me)'
H. : ye blaus mereliye ṭhik hɛ̃
BH. : ye blauj mereku **phiṭṭa** həi

cook + ani

i) E. : 'I am a cook in a Hindi family'
H. : mɛ̃ Hindi walonke ghərme khana pəkanewali/ bənanaewali hũ
BH. : həm to Hindiwalaka ghərme **kukrani** həi

cost + ka

i) E. : 'no madam, this is more costly'

H. : nəhi bəhenji, ye jada məhənga hɛ̃

BH. : nəi baiji ye jada **kosṭka** həi

(b) English suffixes to Hindi nouns, example:

məska + fying (nominalizer)

i) E. : 'do not flatter too much'

H. : jada məska mət lagao

BH. : jada **məskaphaing** mət kər

maro / + fy

i) E. : 'he stole my pen'

H. : usne mera pen curaya

BH. : wo sala mera pen **marophay** kiya
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(lit. he swear word my pen hit nominalizer did)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(c) Hindi suffixes to Marathi nouns, exmaple:

pəḷ + ta

i) E. : 'Chimnya runs fast'

H. : chimnya bəhut jorse dauḍta hɛ̃

BH. : chimnya bəhut jorse **pəlta** həi
1 2 3 4 5 6

(lit. Chimnya very fast of run is)
1 2 3 4 5 6

bəgh + newala

i) E. : 'there is nobody to look after me'

H. : həme koi dekhnewala nəhi hɛ̃

M. : məla bəghayala koṇi nahi

BH. : həmko koibi bəghnewala nəi
1 2 3 4 5

(lit. me to nobody the one who sees no)
1 2 3 4 5

IV. CONCLUSION

The code-mixing and code-switching is very common in Dharavi as it would be in any multilingual context. In the present sample, the examples of code-mixing and code-switching are found at all linguistic levels and from different languages. However, the description given here is restricted to English. It is observed that though the use of English is comparatively more in the speech of the educated, it is significant also in the speech of the uneducated speakers of Dharavi. The areas where maximum mixing of English vocabulary is done, reflect the need for such vocabulary. For example, unauthorised construction, demolition, police investigation, round up, government ka cash, private party, involve, verfication, public contact, government service, backward class, forward class, guard, opposition, workshop, cost, fraud, relation, tempo, danger, etc., are some of the words which occur in the BH of the uneducated residents of Dharavi.

Apart from this, some of the technical terms relating to their respective occupations are also found in their speech frequently. For example, in the speech of an uneducated cobler, English words like leather, stitch, joint, soft, forment, seak, skin, hair, etc., were found while in the speech of a mechanic in the sample words like puncture, tyre, tube, axil, battery, lathe-work, starter, switch board, exchange, mileage, high, low, heat, exhaust, etc., were found. The people belonging to different occupational groups seem to use different sets of technical terms. Apart from technical terms related to the occupations, vocabulary related to gambling, cricket, cinema and fashions, show a number of English vocabulary items. It is interesting to study the pattern of pronunciation of these words as sometimes one has to find out the original English word by the context.

There are instances of using the borrowed words in wrong contexts. This may be because of the uneducated background of the speakers. Some of the examples are illustrated below.

i) E. : 'Gavaskar's temperament is very good'
BH. : Gavaskarka **tempərecər** bəhut əcchaəhəi

ii) E. : 'there was a communal riot among two communities of Madrasi people'
BH. : mədrasi logke do kəmyuniṭime ek bar bəḍa **kəmyunikesən** jhəgəḍa ho gəya

iii) E. : 'now-a-days there is lot of development in Dharavi'
BH. : aj kəl dharavime bəhut **devəloping** ho gəya həi

With the limited data on hand, it is, however, not possible to make any definite statement regarding the impact of code-mixing/switching on BH used as LWC in Dharavi. The tendency seems to be for accepting these codes of non-Hindi origin as part of BH, though a more detailed study is required for making a definite statement in this respect.

NOTES

1. Hindi here refers to Bazaari Hindi.

2. Indicates weak aspiration.

3. Some of the dialects of Marathi show the absence of retroflex sounds. The Marathi speakers of Dharavi mainly come from such dialect areas. Therefore it could be either a BH feature or an inherited Marathi feature.

4. Paraya is a Scheduled Caste.

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